



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

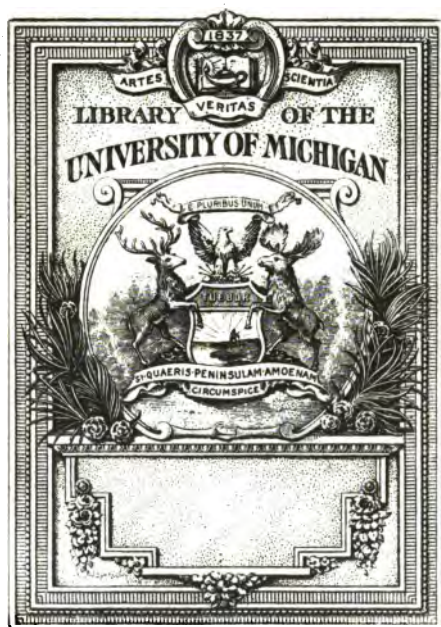
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

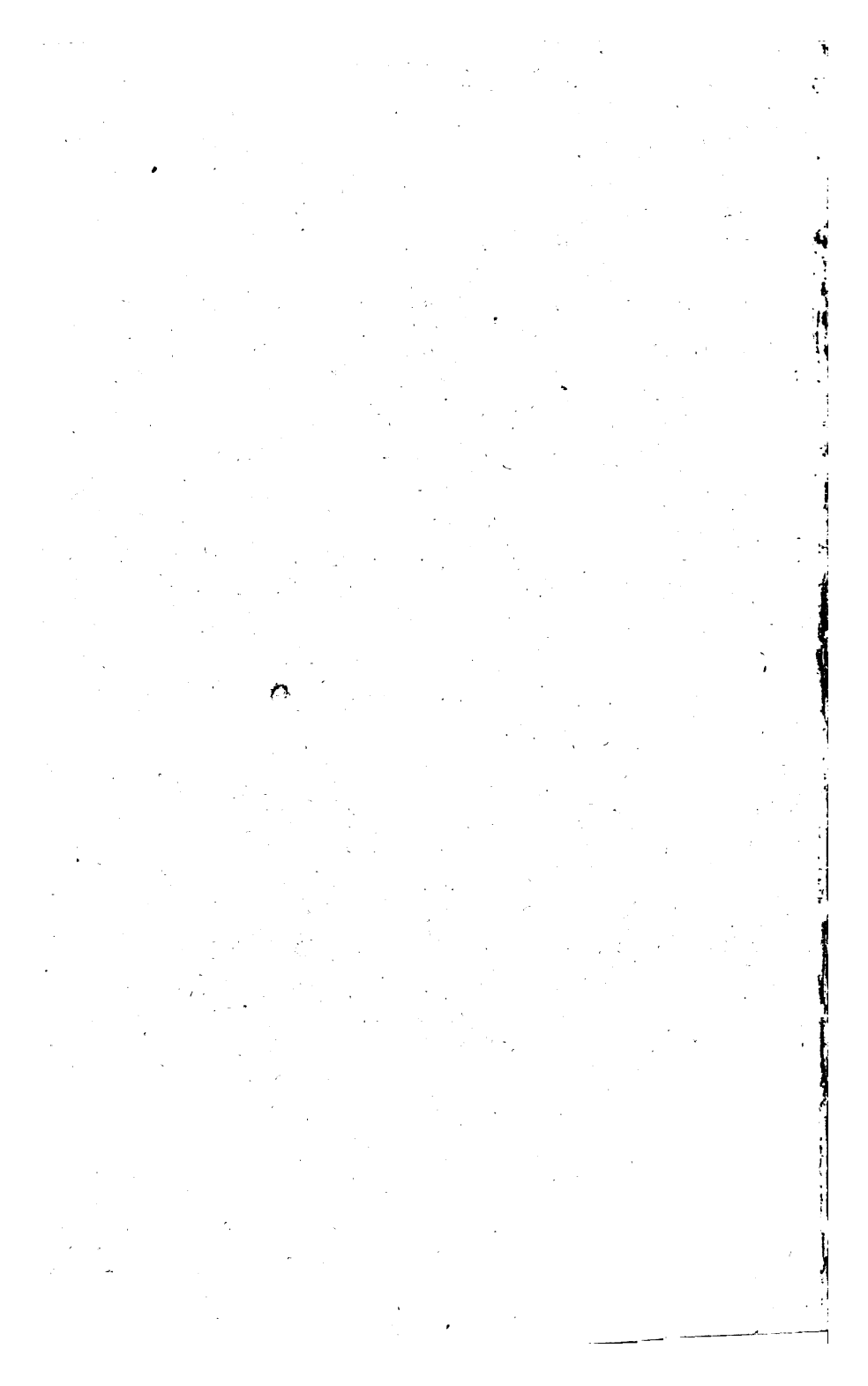


DA

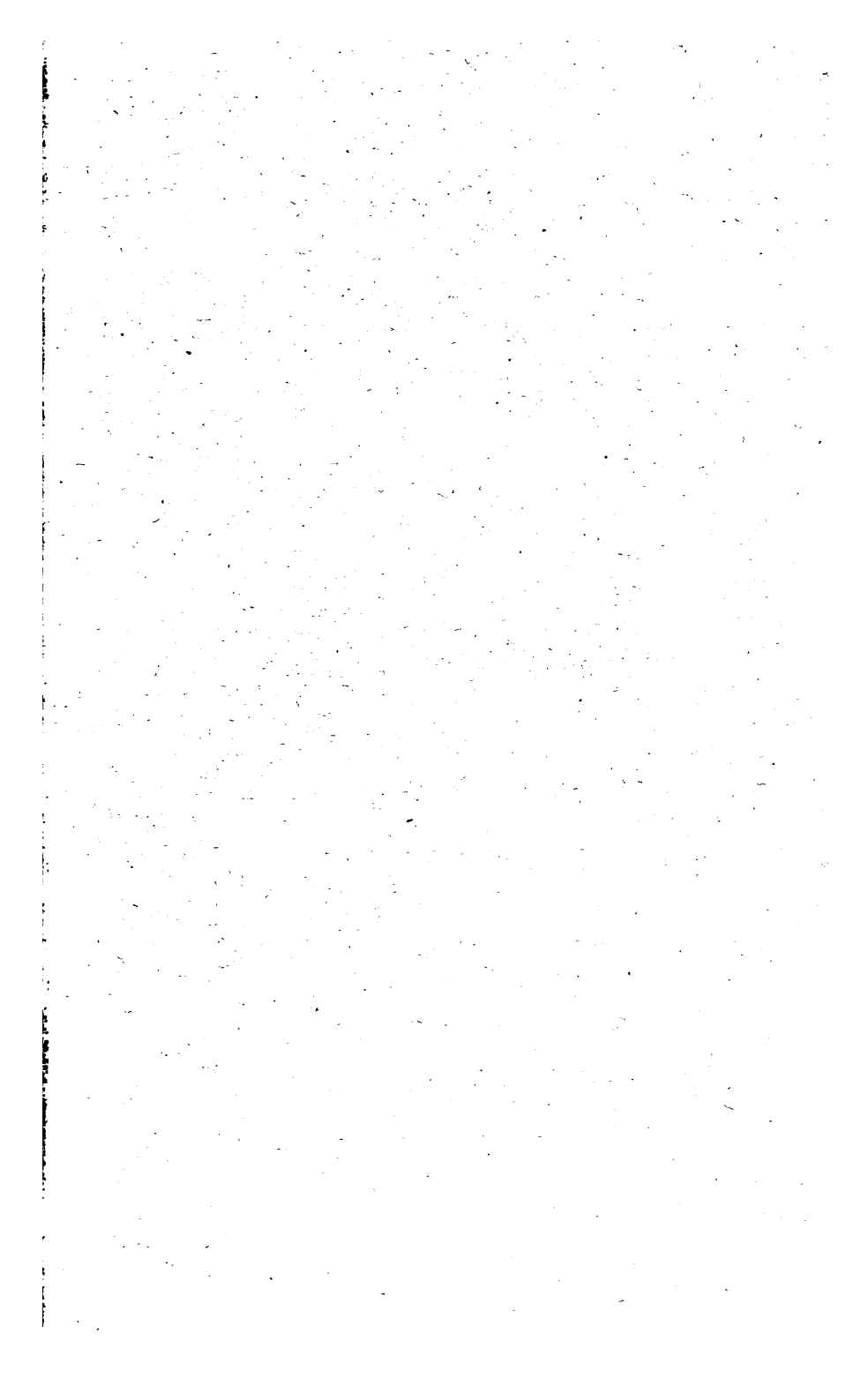
396

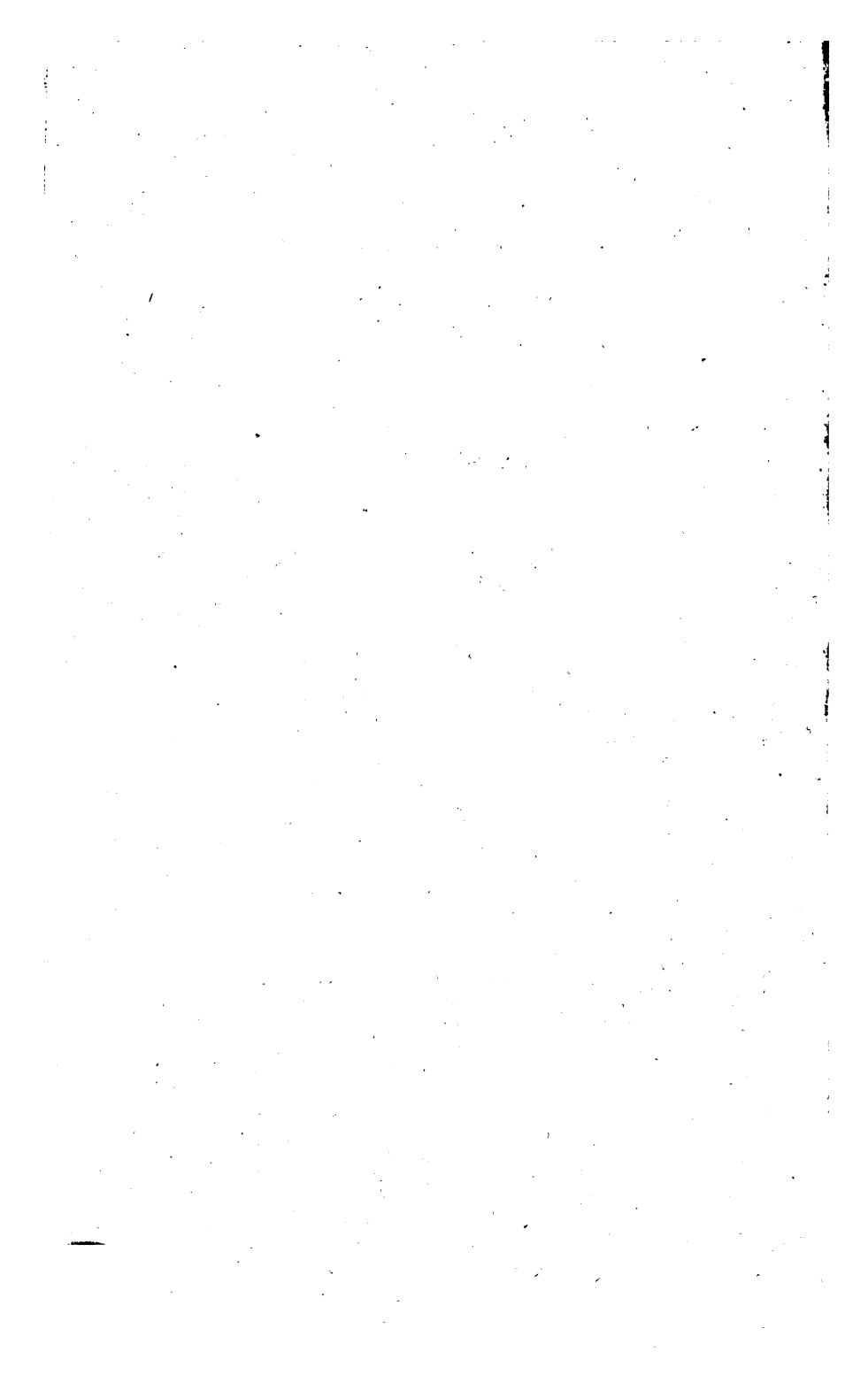
A2

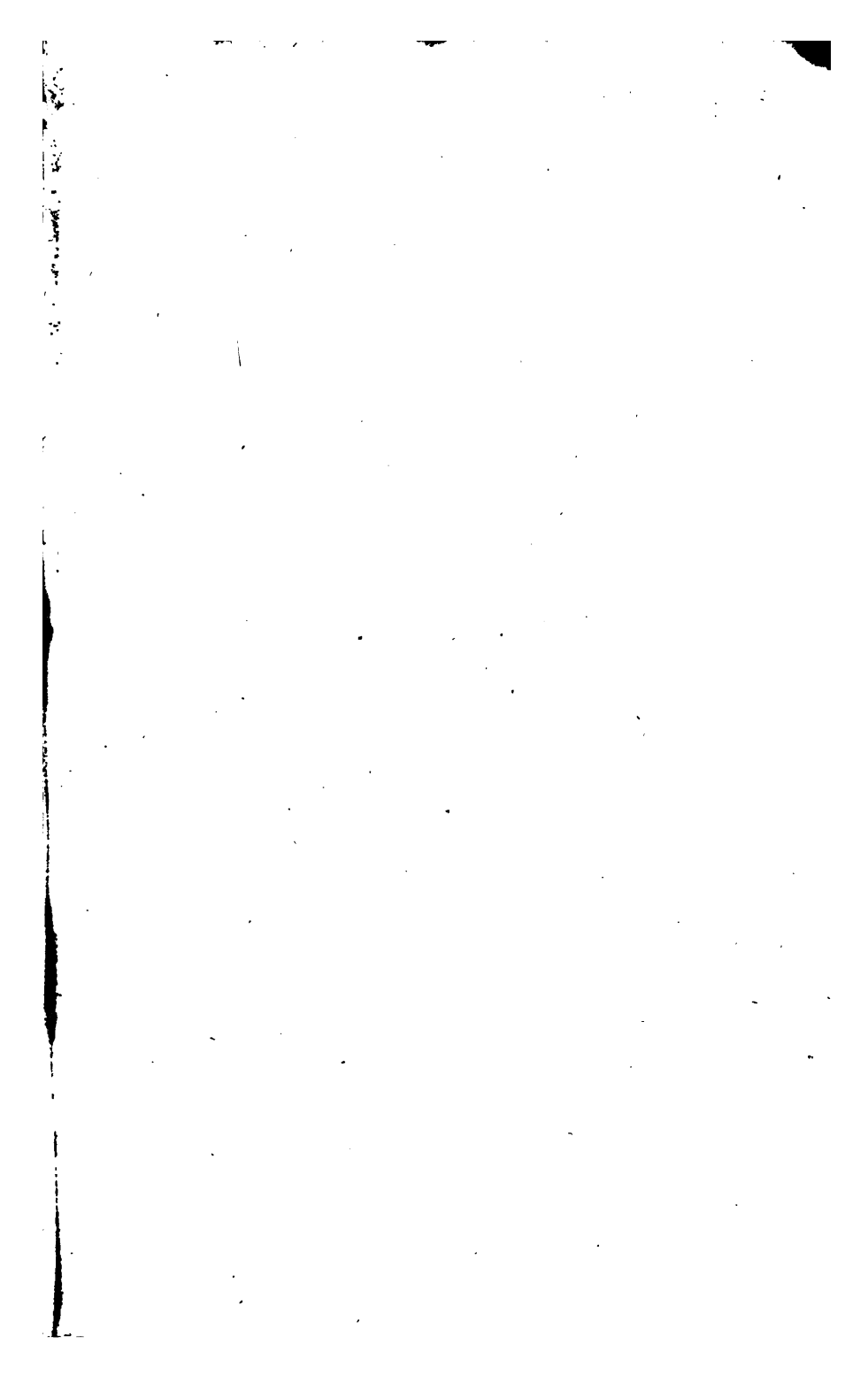
H32

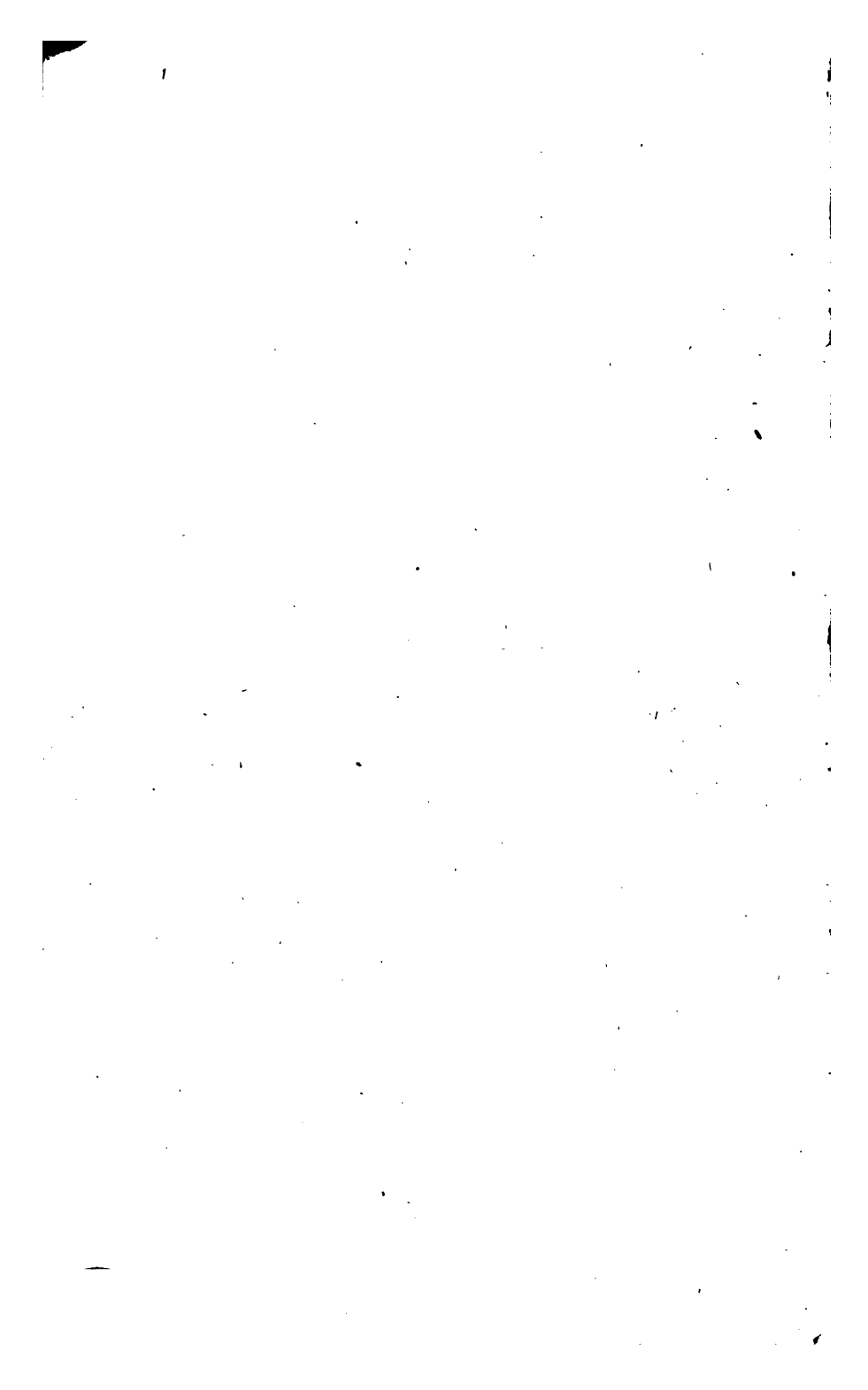












AN  
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE and WRITINGS  
OF  
CHARLES I.  
King of GREAT BRITAIN.

After the Manner of Mr. BAYLE.

Drawn from  
Original Writers and State-Papers.

---

By WILLIAM HARRIS.

---

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non  
audeat.* CICERO.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, in Pater-noster Row;  
T. FIELD, in Cheap-side; and C. HENDERSON,  
under the Royal Exchange.

MDCCLVIII.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY

LECTURE NOTES

BY

PROFESSOR

JOHN D. COLEMAN

CHICAGO, ILL.

1954

PRINTED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL.

1954

# T H E C O N T E N T S.

2200565	<p><b>C</b> H A R L E S's birth and baptism, p. 1—3: <i>Is made knight of the Bath; the solemnity described. The queen's mask,</i> p. 3—5</p> <p>Charles educated by a Puritan. <i>Many great men have had the like education. Remarks on the life of Bolinbroke,</i> 5—7</p> <p>Charles goes into Spain. <i>His behaviour there. His return. A war with Spain,</i> 8—13</p> <p>Charles and Buckingham in danger of losing the favour of K. James; extricated by Williams. <i>Remarks on his conduct,</i> 14—17</p> <p>Charles accused of being privy to the poisoning his father. <i>Vindicated,</i> 18—20</p> <p>He marries Henrietta Maria of France. <i>Her person and temper described. Gives fatal advice to the king;</i> 21—23</p> <p><i>Her behaviour towards his majesty soon after marriage,</i> 24—26</p> <p>Buckingham averse to France. <i>The reason of it,</i> 27—31</p> <p><i>He is assassinated by Felton. Remarks on assassinations. Cruelty of ecclesiastics. Warning to ministers,</i> 32—33</p> <p>Charles uxorious. <i>Proofs of it. Censured,</i> 34—36</p> <p><i>Falsely accused of infidelity to the marriage-bed. His letter to Buckingham. Proofs of his chastity. Reflections on the chastity of princes,</i> 37—40</p> <p>Charles diligent and exact in the performance of the external acts of religion. <i>Reflections thereon,</i> 41—44</p> <p>He revives the declaration concerning sports on the Lord's-day. <i>The declaration. Gives a mask on a Sunday. Ill consequences of the neglect of that day,</i> 45—51</p> <p>Charles superstitious. <i>A remarkable vow of his. Reflections on superstition and vows,</i> 52—58</p> <p><i>Of the bigotry of Charles. Mischiefs of bigotry,</i> 59—61</p> <p><i>Of the employments of Charles. How unworthy the rank in which he was placed. His disputatious temper,</i> 62—65</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A. 2</p>
---------	--

137540

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>An enquiry whether Charles had much sensibility of temper.</i>	
<i>Censure of lord Clarendon,</i>	p. 66—68
<i>Charles impolite,</i>	68
<i>Of the truth and sincerity of Charles. Remarks on Mr. Hume. Of the petition of right. Parliament's opinion of the sincerity of this prince. His insincerity one probable reason of the loss of his life. Princes should act with honour,</i>	p. 72—83
<i>Charles very obstinate, though easily governed by his favourites,</i>	84—86
<i>Charles's understanding far enough from being despicable,</i>	87—89
<i>Of the accomplishments of Charles,</i>	90—93
<i>An account of his writings. His letters taken at Naseby. His papers concerning church-government. His prayers. The prayer taken from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia,</i>	94—105
<i>An account of the controversy about the Icon Basilike,</i>	106—116
<i>Writings omitted in the collection of Charles's works. His letters to the popes Gregory XV. and Urban VIII. His instructions to colonel Cockeram,</i>	117—121
<i>Letters suppressed by the friends to his memory,</i>	122—124
<i>A poem wrote by Charles,</i>	125—128
<i>Of the public character of Charles. Ill success in his war with Spain. Justification of the parliament in relation to it,</i>	129—135
<i>Of the war with France. Expedition and ill success at Rheé. Poor figure of the English in this war,</i>	136—142
<i>The neutrality of the English ports violated by the Spaniards and Dutch. The French bear hard on the English merchants. Character of the French by lord Leicester,</i>	143—147
<i>The Dutch admiral destroys the Spanish fleet in the Downs. Particulars of that affair. Means to make a British king respectable,</i>	148—153
<i>Pirates and Turks infest the coasts. English carried into captivity. A brave resolution of the house of commons,</i>	154—158
<i>Charles asserts the right of the English crown to the dominion of the British seas. Advantages of the herring-fishery,</i>	159—162
<i>He refuses to promise a neutrality with regard to Flanders. Rich-</i>	



# C O N T E N T S.

Richlieu's threatenings. <i>The importance of the ports in Flanders to England,</i>	p. 163—165
Charles chastises the town of Salle. <i>Particulars of that affair. Mistake of Mr. Fenton,</i>	166—170
<i>Whether the coronation-oath was altered by Charles and Laud?</i>	
<i>A full account of the dispute on this head,</i>	171—178
<i>Innovations in the doctrine of the church encouraged by Charles.</i>	
<i>A declaration prefixed to the 39 articles. Commons protest in favour of the calvinistical sense of the articles. Inutility of tests of orthodoxy,</i>	179—189
<i>Superstitious practices brought into the church. Censure of them,</i>	190—193
<i>The church of England assumes a new dress under Charles,</i>	194—197
<i>Papists advanced to places of great trust and profit. Growth of popery. Insolence of the papists,</i>	198—203
<i>Charles and Laud suspected of popery. Vindicated,</i>	204—207
<i>Charles aims at uniformity in modes and forms. Walloon and Dutch churches attacked by Laud. The Et cætera oath. English articles obtruded on the church of Ireland. Strafforde's management of the Irish convocation. Propagators of the Gospel. Mischiefs of uniformity. Political advantages of toleration,</i>	208—215
<i>High-sounding titles bestowed on Laud. Authority of the fathers little regarded among men of sense. Popes and patriarchs characterized,</i>	216—218
<i>Churchmen advanced to some of the highest civil dignities by Charles. Ill effects thereof. Pride of the prelates,</i>	219—221
<i>Severe punishments inflicted on the opposers of the ecclesiastical yoke, Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, Burton. Censure of Mr. Hume. Laud characterized. Infidels and Atheists the severest persecutors,</i>	222—232
<i>Of the liberty of the press. Advantages thereof. Restraint laid on it by the Star-chamber. Cruel punishments inflicted on such as conformed not thereto. A short view of the administration from 1628 to the meeting of the long parliament,</i>	233—237
<i>Charles's high notions of the prerogative. Lord Bolingbroke's apology for him. The duty and office of a king,</i>	238—241
<i>Parliaments contemptuously thought and spoken of by Charles.</i>	Their

# C O N T E N T S.

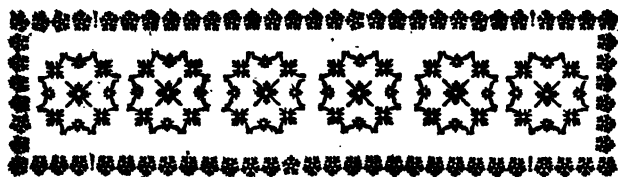
- Their priviledges violated by him, and many members unjustly fined and imprisoned. Generosity of Mr. Holles, and other patriot members of the house of commons, p. 242—247*
- Charles grievously oppresses the subject. Violates the petition of Right. Censured by his best friends, 248—256*
- Ship-money imposed without assent of parliament. Particulars concerning it. Hampden characterized. Judges impeached by order of parliament. Caution to historians, 257—264*
- An account of the Star-chamber. Cruelty and severity of its punishments. Persons of high quality treated with rigour by it. Abolished by act of parliament. Law trampled under foot in England, and tyranny openly erected. Quotation from Mr. Locke, 264—271*
- Charles attempts to introduce innovations into Scotland. Of John Knox, and the Scottish reformation. Ill policy of Charles in erecting bishopricks and archbishopricks there. Proceedings in the Scotch parliament in 1633. Character and behaviour of the bishops there. Canons and a liturgy imposed on the Scots. Charles thrown into difficulties thereby, 272—280*
- Tumults upon reading the service-book at Edinburgh. Preparations made for war. Laud and Strafforde averse to the Scots. Charles marches towards the North. A pacification. Admonition to princes, 281—288*
- Short continuance of the peace. Charles deals not sincerely with the Scots. Parliament and assembly zealous in securing their religious and civil priviledges. The covenant ordered to be subscribed. Charles renews the war, 289—295*
- Scots make remonstrances to the king by their deputies. Lord Loudon, one of them, sent to the Tower: warrant signed for his execution. Saved by the marquis of Hamilton, 296—301*
- Charles calls a parliament. Dissolves it. His conduct censured. Members of the last parliament imprisoned, 302—306*
- Charles's conduct void of prudence and policy. His proceedings strengthen the Scots, not himself, 307, 311*
- English soldiers go unwillingly to the war against the Scots. The latter enter England. A cessation concluded, 312—314*
- Charles*

# C O N T E N T S.

Charles calls the Long Parliament, Necessitated so to do.	
His real opinion of parliaments. Modern politicians differ from him,	p. 315—318
Strafforde given up to the block. His character. Charles assures him of safety. Proceedings against him. Condemned. Executed. Remorse of Charles on that account. Of the proviso in the bill of attainder,	318—326
Of the bill for taking away bishops votes in parliament. Misrepresentation of lord Clarendon. Character of Sir Edward Dering. Character of the house of commons. Their reasons for taking away the bishops votes,	326—330
A project to bring up the army to over-awe the parliament. Charles privy thereto. Ill consequences of it,	331—335
Of the Irish rebellion. Its horrid cruelty. Ill effects on Charles's affairs. An impartial account of the evidence for and against his being concerned in exciting it,	336—351
Charles impeaches the lord Kimbolton, and the five members. Enters the house with his guard to seize them. The members proclaimed traitors. Vindicated by the commons. Mischievous consequences hereof,	351—355
The disputes about the militia give rise to the civil war. Insisted on by the parliament for their own security. Refused by Charles. An ordinance passed concerning it by both houses, the king's name and authority being left out. Justification of the parliament on this head,	356—361
Of the motives on which the parliament entered into the war. Lord Holles and lord Fairfax's account of them. Long parliament justified in taking up arms by the house of commons who restored Charles II.	361—366
Whether the civil war can justly be stiled a rebellion,	366—374
Charles successful in the beginning of the war. Reasons of it,	375—377
Charles speaks in an high tone to the parliament. Danger of prosperity,	377—379
His success gives uneasiness to his friends. Prevalency of the popish party with the king. The king's design,	379—383
He is reduced to a weak condition by the loss of the battle of Naseby. Alters his stile to the parliament. Sends messages for peace. Of vows in calamity,	383—388
Great court paid to Charles by the grandees of the army.	Terms

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Terms proposed by them to him. Refused with great stiffness by him. Bills proposed by the parliament, refused by him. Votes of no address to him. Different opinions on his behaviour,</i>	p. 388—397
<i>The king's answers voted to be a ground to proceed on, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. Of Charles's method of treating. Mistakes and misrepresentations in lord Clarendon,</i>	398—404
<i>The army present a remonstrance to the parliament. Seize the king. Seclude great numbers of the house of commons. Bring the king to a trial, and execute him for levying war against the parliament. Parliament acquitted from all blame in this affair by indisputable authorities,</i>	404—411
<i>Of the equanimity or insensibility of Charles before, at, and after his trial. Account of his speech on the scaffold. His behaviour celebrated. Milton's remarks thereon,</i>	411—418
<i>Charles styles himself a martyr. Is paralleled with Jesus Christ. The parallel condemned by the house of lords. Charles's title of martyr denied him by his pretended grandson, as well as others,</i>	418—423
<i>Character of a king of England. Charles the original cause of his own misfortunes. Illegality of his sentence. Of the prerogative. Means of security to princes,</i>	423—428



AN  
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL  
A C C O U N T  
OF THE  
LIFE and WRITINGS  
OF  
C H A R L E S I.  
King of GREAT BRITAIN.



**C** H A R L E S STUART, second son of *James I.* king of *Great Britain*, by *Ann* of *Denmark*, was born at *Dumferling*, in *Scotland*, *November* the 19th, 1600 (a). He was baptized on *Tuesday* (a) *Perrin-* chief's life of Charles I. prefixed to his works, p. 1, fol. Lond. 1687.  
*December* the 23d, in the royal chapel, by *David Lindsay*, bishop of *Ross*, with great solemnity, according to *Mr. Carte*; though  
B other

(b) Carte's  
history of  
England,  
vol. iii. p.  
679, fol.  
Lond. 1752.

other writers give a different account (b)  
(A).

At

(c) Calder-  
wood's his-  
tory of the  
church of  
Scotland,  
p. 446, fol.  
Edinb. 1680.

(d) History  
of the church  
of Scotland,  
p. 461, fol.  
Lond. 1668.

(e) See Dod-  
well's episto-  
lary discourse  
concerning  
the mortali-  
ty of hu-  
man souls,  
8vo. Lond.  
1705.

(A) *Though other writers give a different account.* Calderwood speaks of the birth of prince Charles, but mentions not a word about his baptism. 'He was born,' says he, upon the 19th of November, about eleven hours at night, the same day that Gowrie and his brother's carcases were dismembred (c)." Spotswood observes, that 'his christening was hastned because of the weakness of the child, and that his death was much feared (d).' Thus also Perinchief, in the very page referred to in the text, tells us, 'that he was born in so much weakness, that his baptism was hastned, without the usual ceremonies wherewith such royal infants are admitted into the church.' Here are very different accounts, we see, of the baptism of this prince; but which is most worthy of belief, must be left to the reader to determine. All I shall say is, that if the young prince had received the benefit of episcopal baptism, (a benefit never sufficiently to be valued, in the opinion of some very grave and learned writers (e), as it gives special privileges and advantages both here and hereafter) it is amazing that archbishop Spotswood and doctor Perinchief should either have been ignorant of it, or neglected to have mentioned it. But truth is frequently brought to light by time; and Mr. Carte, an hundred and fifty years after the ceremony was performed, tells us the name of the bishop, the solemnity used, and the place where it was used, when all others seem to have known nothing about it! However, such as have opportunity may consult MS. in Offic. Leon req; Armor. the authority referred to, in his margin, by Mr. Carte, for it \*.

\* This MS. so pompously quoted by Mr. Carte, is, I apprehend, the same piece which is printed in the Appendix to the Attempt towards the Character of the Royal Martyr King Charles I. Lond. 8vo. 1738, which is said to be copied from a MS. in the Lyon's Office, written by John Blinfele, Hay-herald, who assisted at the baptism: I say, I apprehend Carte's MS. and this to be one and the same thing, because it gives exactly the same account of the pompous baptism of Charles, by David Lindfay, bishop of Ross,

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

At three years old he was committed to the care and government of sir *Robert Cary's* lady; and in his fourth year he was brought to the *English* court, where he was made Knight of the Bath, and invested with the title of duke of *York*. The particulars of that solemnity, as they may be acceptable to some readers, I will give in the note (B).

In

(B) *The particulars of that solemnity. I will give in the note.*] We are indebted to sir *Dudley Carleton* for the following account, which was contained in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, written from *London*, Jan. 1604.—‘ On Twelfth-day we had the creation of duke *Charles*, now duke of *York*: the interim was entertained with making Knights of the Bath, which was three days work. They were eleven in number, besides the little duke, all of the king’s choice. The solemnity of the creation was kept in the hall, where first the duke was brought in, accompanied with his knights; then carried out again, and brought back by earls in their robes of the Garter. My lord-admiral bare him, two others went as supporters, and six marched before with the ornaments. The patent was read by my

Rofs, with what Carte quotes from his MS. But from the printed account the MS. appears to be an arrant forgery, the work of some ignorant person, who knew not the times of which he was writing, and consequently his work must be meer invention: for he represents the chancellor *Cassils* as present at the solemnity, though there was no such chancellor then in being; and he tells us, that monsieur de *Rohan*, a nobleman of *Brittany*, and his brother, called monsieur de *Soubise*, were his majesty’s gossips; though the Scotch historians never mention their being in that kingdom. In short, the writer of the account given in that Appendix, (which yet is but a quotation from a book printed at *London*, 1716, by Mr. *Henry Cantrel*, called the *Royal Martyr* a true Christian) evidently appears to have had more zeal for the episcopal baptism of *Charles* than regard to truth, or even his own character. Authors that invent history, have so many circumstances to consider and provide for, to render their accounts consistent; that they need a far more extensive knowledge than generally falls to the share of such writers, to secure them from detection and contempt.

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

In the sixth year of his age he was committed to the tuition of Mr. *Thomas Murray*,  
a per-

lord of *Cranborne*, and drawn in most eloquent law Latin by Mr. Attorney; but so, that we have a duke of *York* in title, but not in substance. There was a public dinner in the great chamber, where there was one table for the duke and his earls assistants, another for his fellow-knights of the Bath. At night we had the queen's mask in the banquetting house, or rather her pagent. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a scallop, wherein were four seats. On the lowest sat the queen, with my lady *Bedford*; on the rest were placed the ladies *Suffolk*, *Darby*, *Rich*, *Effingham*, *Ann Herbert*, *Susan Herbert*, *Elizabeth Howard*, *Walsingham*, and *Bevil*. Their apparel was rich, but too light and curtezan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizards, their faces and arms, up to the elbows, were painted black, which disguise was sufficient; for they were hard to be known: but it became them nothing so well as their red and white; and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight, than a troop of lean-cheeked Moors. The *Spanish* and *Venetian* ambassadors were both present, and sat by the king in state; at which monsieur *Beaumont* quarrels so extremely, that he saith the whole court is *Spanish*. But, by his favour, he should fall out with none but himself; for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men to a private sport; which he refusing, the *Spanish* ambassador willingly accepted, and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary, he put off *Don Taxis*, and took upon him *El Senor Embaxador*, wherein he outstrips our little *Monsieur*. He was privately at the first mask, and sat amongst his men disguised: at this he was  
taken



# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

5

a person well qualified for that office, though  
a favourer of presbytery (f) (c). Under <sup>(f) Perin-  
chief's life  
of king  
Charles,  
p. 2.</sup> this

' taken out to dance, and footed it like a luffy old gal-  
' lant with his countrywoman. He took out the queen,  
' and forgot not to kiss her hand, though there was  
' danger it would have left a mark on his lips. The  
' night's work was concluded with a banquet in the  
' great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that  
' down went table and tressles before one bit was  
' touched (g).' The reader perhaps is disposed to smile (g) Win-  
at the indecorum mentioned by sir *Dudley*, and to cen- wood's me-  
sure the light and carterzan-like attire of the ladies; but morials of  
the present age has little room to exult over them with affairs of  
respect to propriety or decency, as those who are ac- state, vol. ii,  
quainted with public places and public entertainments p. 43, folio,  
well know. Lond. 1725.

(c) Thomas Murray, a favourer of presbytery.] This  
is a fact not to be disputed. There is a letter in the Ca-  
bala from Dr. *Williams*, bishop of *Lincoln*, and lord-  
keeper to the duke of *Buckingham*, dated Feb. 23, 1621,  
concerning the promotion of this gentleman to the pro-  
vostship of *Eton*. In this letter, *Williams* complains ' of  
' the dispensation given him, who was a meer layman,  
' to hold a place which was a living with cure of souls;  
' intimates his suspicion of his being averſe to our  
' church-government; and declares, that he thinks it  
' will be no disparagement to him, though he had been  
' his highness's schoolmaster, to take orders.' And in  
his postscript he says, he " has since seen Mr. *Murray*;  
' finds him averſe to the priesthood. If the king will  
' dispense with him, my letter notwithstanding, adds he,  
' I humbly beseech his majesty to write a letter unto me,  
' as a warrant to admit him only *ad curam & regimen*  
' *collegii*, instead of the other word *ad curam animarum*.  
' I schooled him soundly against puritanism, which he  
' disavows, though somewhat faintly. I hope his high-  
' ness and the king will second it (h).' However, Mr. (h) Cabala,  
*Murray* had the provostship; in which, on his death, he p. 289, fol.  
Lond. 1663.  
was

this tutor he was so diligent and studious, that he far advanced in learning; insomuch that

was succeeded by the learned sir *Henry Wooton*, who, notwithstanding his having been on many embassies, entered into holy orders, agreeably to the statutes of the college (*i*).—'Tis very remarkable, I think, that some of the greatest foes of the puritans were educated among them! *James* was instructed by *Buchanan*; \* *Charles* by Mr. *Murray*. The late earl of *Oxford* was trained up amongst the dissenters, as well as his and their antagonist *Bolingbroke*: for though the writer of his life strenuously endeavours to show that he never was educated in dissenting principles (*k*), yet, I think, the contrary may unanswerably be proved from his own words †. Lord *Wharton*, in his speech on the schism-bill, anno 1714, observed, 'That he could not but wonder, that the persons that had been educated in dissenting academies, which he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. That this would be but an indifferent return for the benefits the public had received from those schools which had bred those great men, who had made so glorious a peace, and treaties that excite themselves; who had obtained so great advantages for our commerce, and who had paid the public debts without further charge to the nation: so that he

(i) See his life prefixed to *Reliquiae Wottonianae*.

(k) Memoirs of the life and ministerial conduct of lord *Bolingbroke*, p. 22, 8vo. Lond. 1752.

† Perin-chief's life of *Charles*, p. 3. See also *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 24. Dutch edit. in 12mo.

\* The puritanical education of *Charles* gave great concern to Dr. *Andrews*, bishop of *Ely*, who, on the king's being sick in 1618, bewailed the sad condition of the church, if God should at that time determine the days of the king; the prince being then only conversant with Scotchmen, which made up the greatest part of his family, and were ill-affected to the government and worship of the church of England †. But his fears, we shall find, were without foundation.

† In lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter to Mr. *Pope*, at the end of his letter to sir *William Wyndham*, speaking of *Chrysostom*'s homilies, he adds, which puts me in mind of a puritanical parson, (Dr. *Manton*) who, if I mistake not, for I have never looked into the folio since I was a boy, and condemned sometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm. See letter to *Wyndham*, p. 526, 8vo. Lond. 1753.

' could

that his brother prince *Henry* taking notice of it, by way of jest, put the cap of archbishop *Abbot* (who was then with the prince and the duke, and other of the nobility, waiting in the privy-chamber for the king's coming out) on his head; adding, if he was a good boy and minded his book, he would make him one day archbishop of *Canterbury*.

'could see no reason there was to suppress those academies, unless it were an apprehension that they might still produce greater genius's, that should drown the merits and abilities of those great men (1).'  
 —But, (1) Torbuck's parliamentary debates, vol. vi. p. 216, *Whicbeot*, *Wilkins*, and *Tillotson*, among the clergy; the earl of *Wharton*, the lord-chancellor *King*, among the laity, 1741.  
 with several others, who from time to time have had seats in both houses, have shewed their esteem and friendship for them, by defending them against their adversaries, and bearing testimony to their innocence, loyalty, and learning.—Which behaviour, as it manifests more gratitude, so likewise does it proceed from truer *patriotism* than its opposite. For the puritans have been hated, reviled, and oppressed, chiefly on account of their firm attachment to civil liberty, and the constitution of their country. 'By the bills for preventing occasional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their [the dissenters] sting would be taken away,' says *Bolingbroke*. And again, says he, 'These bills were thought necessary for our party-interest (m).'  
 What (m) Letter to Wyndham, p. 22.  
 that party-interest was, is but too well known; as likewise what he and his coadjutors aimed at: and therefore it cannot but be esteemed an honour to any body of men to be ill treated by such as were ready to sacrifice their country to their own ambition and lust of power.

# *The* LIFE of CHARLES I.

On the death of his brother, *Nov. 9, 1612*, he succeeded him in the dukedom of *Cornwall*; and at the age of sixteen he was created prince of *Wales*, and had a court formed for him.

Tho' he had had a great aversion towards *Villiers*, duke of *Buckingham*, whose insolence was great, yet a friendship inviolable succeeded, contrary to the expectations of many. At his instigation, and in his company, this prince went into *Spain*, in order to conclude the match that had been so long negotiating with the Infanta (D); where he behaved

(D) *At Buckingham's instigation, and in his company, he went into Spain, &c.*] The negotiations for a match with the Infanta of *Spain* began about the year 1616. The *Spaniards* at first intended only to amuse king *James*, and hinder him from interfering in the affairs of *Germany*. At length, they seem to have been sincere, and determined to conclude it. The duke of *Buckingham* then, out of 'envy to the earl of *Bristol*, (who had the 'sole management of the affair) one day insinuated to 'the prince the common misfortune of princes, that in 'so substantial a part of their happiness in this world 'as depended upon their marriage, themselves had never any part; but must receive only an account from 'others of the nature and humour, and beauty of the 'ladies they were to marry: and those reports seldom 'proceeded from persons totally uninterested, by reason 'of the parts they had acted towards such preparations. 'From hence he discoursed, how gallant and how brave 'a thing it would be for his highness to make a journey 'into *Spain*, and to fetch home his mistress; that it 'would put an end presently to all those formalities, 'which, (though all substantial matters were agreed 'upon

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

behaved with great politeness, and was received with much respect: though, thro' the means

upon already) according to the style of that court, and the slow progress in all things of ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's voyage into *England* many months, all which would in a moment be removed by his highness's own presence; that it would be such an obligation to the Infanta herself, as she could never enough value or requite, and, being a respect rarely paid by any other prince, upon the like addresses, could proceed only from the high regard and reverence he had for her person; that in the great affair, that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very friendly deliberation, which was the restoring the Palatinate, it was very probable that the king of *Spain* himself might chuse, in the instant, to gratify his personal interposition, which, in a treaty with an ambassador, might be drawn out in length, or attended with overtures of recompence by some new concessions, which would create new difficulties; however, that the mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta herself, who would ambitiously make it her work, to pay a part of her great debt to the prince; and that he might, with her, and by her, present to his majesty the entire peace and restitution of his family, which by no other human means could be brought to pass.

These discourses made so deep an impression on the mind and spirit of the prince, (whose nature was inclined to adventures) that he was transported with the thought of it, and most impatiently solicitous to bring it to pass (n).

Thus having, with much difficulty, gained the king's consent, his highness, with *Buckingham*, set out with very few attendants, unknown to the court, and through *France* travelled into *Spain* incognito. His arrival being notified to that court, he was treated with all imaginable civility and respect, and had part of the royal palace fitted up for him.

(n) Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. i. p. 11, 8vo. Oxon. 1712.

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

means of his favourite, the match was broke off, and a quarrel ensued between the two nations.

Some

Whilst in *Spain*, he shewed his gallantry; for understanding ' that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa da Campo, a summer-house of the king's on the other side of the river, to gather *May-dew*, he rose early, and, accompanied with one gentleman, went thither, and was let into the house and into the garden; but the Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition-wall between, and the door double-bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back. The old marquis, that was then her guardian, came towards the prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he got in (o). This adventure, so much in the taste of the *Spaniards*, with his watching an hour together in a close coach in the open street to see her as she went abroad, the bravery of his journey, and his discreet comportment, made them much taken with him, and say, that never prince was courted with more gallantry (p). But the Infanta was not destined for *Charles*; for notwithstanding the favour with which he was treated by the catholick king, notwithstanding the preparations made for a marriage, the wishes of his father, and his own fond desire and affection, *Buckingham* (such is the power of a favourite!) found means to prevent it. For his pride and haughtiness were disagreeable to the *Spaniards*, proud as they themselves were: his carriage was scandalously indecent\*; he disgusted the conde d'*Olivares*, and, in return,

(o) Howel's  
letters, p.  
119, 8vo.  
Lond. 1705.

(p) Id. p.  
20, 21.

\* In the Cabala there is a letter, ab ignoto, to the king, highly reflecting on *Buckingham*; and, among other things, his majesty is requested to enquire of those that come out of *Spain*, whether the duke of *Buckingham*

Some things being dropped by the duke in his narrative of the transactions in *Spain*, which

turn, was disgusted by him: and things were come to such an height between him and the *Spanish* ministers, that they scrupled not to profess, they would rather put the Infanta into a well headlong, than into his hands (q). The knowledge of these things highly disgusted the *English* favourite, who ceased not to inspire the prince with sentiments different from those which occasioned his journey. Under pretence of the season's being far advanced, the uncertainty of the arrival of the dispensation from the pope, and the impatience of the people of *England* at his long absence, he determined to depart; tho' not without leaving a proxy behind him to finish the marriage. This being mentioned by the prince to the king of *Spain*, he consented to his departure; adding withal, 'That he would take it for a favour if he would depute him to personate him; and ten days after the dispensation should come from *Rome*, the business should be done, and afterwards he might send for his wife when he pleased (r).' Soon after, the king and his two brothers accompanied his highness about twenty miles, and wonderful endearments and embraces past between them. Prince *Charles* immediately went on board a royal fleet, which attended for him; and after having been in great danger in the road at *St. Andero*, safely arrived in *England*, where he was received with the utmost

(q) Cabala, p. 98, fol. Lond. 1663. Reliquiae Wottonianae, p. 218, 8vo. Lond. 1672. Rushworth's historical collections, vol. i. p. 263, fol. Lond. 1659.

(r) Howell's letters, p. 129.

'ham did not many things against the authority and reverence due to the most illustrious prince [Charles]? Whether he was not wont to be sitting whilst the prince stood, and was in presence, and also having his feet resting upon another seat, after an indecent manner? Whether, when the prince was uncovered, whilst the queen and infanta looked out at the windows, he uncovered his head, or no? Whether he were not wont to come into the prince's chamber with his clothes half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the prince from the king of Spain, the door-keepers refusing to go in for modesty's sake? Whether he did not call the prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and profane the king's palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations, and wanton tricks with players, in the presence of the prince?' &c. &c. Cabala, p. 276.

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

which were thought to reflect highly on the honour of his catholick majesty, by his ambassadors,

joy and transport. 'To tell your lordship what joy is here for the prince's return,' (says sir *James Palmer*, in a letter to *Robert earl of Leicester*, dated *Raiston*, Oct. 13, 1623,) 'no one man's expressions can inform you, nor can the preachers in their sermons do enough (though all strive to outdo one another) in that kind (1).' But tho' a proxy was left behind in the hands of *Digby earl of Bristol*, to amuse the *Spanish* court; yet orders were privately sent to him, upon no terms to make use of it, till further orders were received with relation to it. Soon after the prince's departure the dispensation from *Rome* arrived, and it was concluded the marriage would be accomplished. But the immediate restitution of the Palatinate was now demanded, though that was known to be impossible, (however by the *Spaniards* not held unjust) who professed 'the desponsorio's past, the Infanta on her knees should have been a suitor to the king to restore the Palatinate, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her (1).' This breach of the intended marriage with *Spain* was highly acceptable to the *English* nation, who viewed it with horror; and therefore *Buckingham* was greatly applauded by all ranks of people, for bringing back the prince in safety. The popular favour now enabled him to bring about what he had meditated before his return: for in spite of *James* his master, and contrary to what was well known to those concerned in the transactions to be truth, he averred before the parliament, that the *Spaniards* never intended to bestow the Infanta on *Charles*, or get the Palatinate restored to his brother-in-law. To this *Charles* himself also gave his testimony, before the same august assembly. Whereupon the parliament advised the breaking off the treaties; promised his majesty assistance; and troops were immediately raised to recover the Palatinate. A rupture likewise with *Spain* ensued, to the great grief of his majesty: 'who, says lord *Clarendon*,  
' when

(1) *Sidney's*  
*State-papers*,  
vol. ii. p.  
357, fol.  
*London*, 1746.

(1) *Rushworth*, vol. i.  
p. 112.



bassadors, *Buckingham's* head was demanded by them; but he had the good fortune to be justified by the lords, and praised by the king, though, as will appear in the note (u), he was greatly offended with him, and meditated his ruin. However, the *Spanish* ambassadors were not disheartened; but found means (by a writing privately conveyed into his hands, as well as by their agents secretly admitted into his presence) strongly to insinuate into the king, that he was besieged by the duke's servants, and was no more a free man; that he was to be confined to his country-house and pastimes, the prince having years and parts answerable to public government; that the duke had reconciled himself to all popular men, and sought to raise an opinion of his own great-

(u) Note (d) towards the end.

when he was informed of what the duke had so confidently avowed, for which he had not authority, or the least direction from him, and a great part whereof himself knew to be untrue, and that he had advised an utter breach of the treaty, and to enter on a war with *Spain*; he was infinitely offended, so that he wanted only a resolute and brisk counsellor to assist him in destroying the duke: and such a one he promised himself in the arrival of the earl of *Bristol*, whom he expected every day (w). *Bristol* soon arrived, and as soon was committed; for *Buckingham* ruled father and son, nor was there a man could bear up against him. So vain a thing is it for ministers to rely on the favour or justice of those masters, who have meanness enough to submit to the rule of favourites, especially when destitute of sense, virtue and learning.

(w) Clarendon, vol. i. p. 22.

ness,

(y) Vol. I.  
P. 144.

ness, and to make the king grow less; and that all looked towards the rising sun. Whereupon they advised the king, says *Rusworth* (y), to free himself from this captivity, and imminent danger, and to cut off so ungrateful an affecter of popularity and greatness; and so he should shew himself to be, as he was reputed, the oldest and wisest king in *Europe*. These, and many other things of a like nature, which were privately represented to his majesty by means of the *Spanish* ambassadors, wrought so much on him, that he mused much in silence, and entertained the prince and duke with mystical broken speeches. The duke now began to be alarmed, as well as the prince; but by the advice of Dr. *Williams*, lord-keeper, (who had, with great dexterity, found out the instruments of raising the king's fears and suspicions, and had also revealed (E) them) he fol-

(E) *Williams, with great dexterity, found out the instruments of raising the king's fears, &c.*] *Williams* was devoted to the duke of *Buckingham*, tho' the duke was far enough from being pleased with him; and on this occasion he did him great service, as we learn by the following story. ' While the king was at *Windsor* with prince *Charles*, and *Buckingham* left behind, the lord-keeper, (who spared for no cost to get intelligence of every hour's occurrences at court) having received some information, went to the duke at *Watlingford-house*, whom he found lying on a couch, and would not rise up nor speak, though twice or thrice moved thereunto by the ' lord-

followed the king to *Windsor*, where he had gone without him, and kept so near him, that

‘ lord-keeper : who protested to his grace, that he came there only to prevent more harm, and to bring him out of that sorrow into the king’s favour : and besought the duke to make haste to *Windsor*, and shew himself to the king before supper were ended ; to deport himself with all amicable address, and not stir from him day or night. For the danger was, that some would push on the king to break with the parliament, and, upon that dissolution, they hoped to see his grace in the Tower ; and then, God knows what would follow. The keeper adjured the duke to secrecy, as to what he had told him, and to lose no time. And the duke parted with many thanks, and came to *Windsor* before he was expected, and waited on his majesty with a constant attendance. This happened on *Saturday*, and on *Monday* morning the prince came to the lords house, and told the keeper privately, how well he was pleased that he had given the duke such faithful warning for his safety ; desiring him farther, to explain the cause which had got the duke and himself the king’s ill-will. The keeper said, that all he could gain to know was, that some in the *Spanish* ambassador’s house had been preparing mischief, and four days since had infused it into the king ; and that this he had discovered from Don *Francisco Carondelet*, who, being a scholar, and arch-deacon of *Cambray*, took a liking to converse with his lordship, who had discovered him to be a lover of our *English* beauties, and particularly of one in *Mark-lane*, a witty woman, and one who must be courted with news and occurrences. This woman the keeper had bribed to send him word of all that *Carondelet* had told her : and thus he came by his news, thinking it lawful (now the devil had made her a sinner) for him to make use of her sin. Yea, says the prince, do you deal in such ware ? Faith, sir, said the keeper, I never saw her face.’

‘ But

that no one had an opportunity to press any thing to his disadvantage. In the mean time, the

‘ But the keeper being willing to search further into  
 ‘ the matter, contrived how he might gain some intelli-  
 ‘ gence from *Carondelet* himself, who was forbidden to  
 ‘ come to his house for the space of a month, all com-  
 ‘ munication between the *Spaniards* and the court being  
 ‘ forbidden by his majesty. Yet he found out a way,  
 ‘ by ordering a pursuivant at arms to seize a popish priest  
 ‘ who was dear to *Carondelet*, whereby to bring him to  
 ‘ break through the prohibition. And accordingly *Ca-*  
 ‘ *rondelet* sent for leave to wait on the keeper upon that  
 ‘ occasion, and was admitted to come privately at eleven  
 ‘ o’clock at night, when he interceded earnestly for the  
 ‘ liberty of the priest: but was told by the keeper, that  
 ‘ it would be too great a hazard to set a priest at liberty,  
 ‘ who was a dead man in law, during the session of a par-  
 ‘ liament which was vigilant upon the breach of justice,  
 ‘ especially in that point. My lord, says *Francisco*, let  
 ‘ not this parliament trouble you; for I can tell you, if  
 ‘ you have not heard of it, that it is upon expiration.  
 ‘ And from this hint, the keeper proceeded to get out  
 ‘ farther intelligence: to gratify which, he released the  
 ‘ priest, with a charge that he should presently depart be-  
 ‘ yond sea. The copy of the main paper, scratched in  
 ‘ some places by Don *Colonna*’s hand, (known to the  
 ‘ lord-keeper) was not brought to him till four nights  
 ‘ after. But all that had passed between him and *Caron-*  
 ‘ *delet* that night, he wrote down then, and gave on the  
 ‘ morrow to the prince, desiring that he might not be  
 ‘ discovered in this intelligence to the king, which the  
 ‘ prince promised; and then went chearfully to *Windsor*,  
 ‘ and shewed the papers (which were not written in the  
 ‘ keeper’s hand) to the duke, and both of them present-  
 ‘ ly desired a private audience, and gave the papers to the  
 ‘ king, who read them with great satisfaction; and told  
 ‘ the prince and duke, that he was sorry that he had  
 ‘ grieved them by a jealousy somented by no better than  
 ‘ traitors;

the prince, having received proper instructions from *Williams*, waited on his father with

‘ traitors ; and told them, that their innocency shone as  
 ‘ bright as noon-day ; and asked who it was that made  
 ‘ this discovery. The prince stood mute, and the duke  
 ‘ vowed he did not know. But the king guessed that it  
 ‘ was the keeper, to which the prince assented. And  
 ‘ God do him good for it, said the king : I need not tell  
 ‘ you both what you owe to him for this service ; and he  
 ‘ hath done himself this right with me, that I discern  
 ‘ his sufficiency more and more (z).—‘ The delicacy of (z) *Bishop*  
 ‘ the keeper’s wit, says a certain writer, in unriddling *Hacket’s*  
 ‘ this mystery, came not short of that of *Cicero* ; in find- *memoirs of*  
 ‘ ing out the bottom of *Cataline’s* conspiracy (a).’ *the life of*  
 will not at all detract from the wit and dexterity of *Williams* *archbishop*  
*Williams*, in unravelling this affair to the prince and duke ; *abridged, p.*  
 (tho’ how consistent this correspondence with a curtezan *72, 73, 74,*  
 was with the character of a bishop and a lord-keeper, *London, 8vo.*  
 the reader will determine :) but I cannot let this piece of *1715.*  
 history pass without observing, 1. The obsequiousness of (a) *Lives of*  
 this right reverend and right honourable father in God, *the lord*  
*Williams*, towards the duke of *Buckingham* ; and how *chancellors,*  
 solicitous to curry favour with him, though remarkable *vol. ii. p.*  
 for vile behaviour, both political and moral. Doubt- *117, London.*  
 less, he must have been very mindful of the duties of both *8vo. 1712.*  
 his functions, who spared no cost to get intelligence of  
 every hour’s occurrences at court, and devoted his mid-  
 night hours to unravel political intrigues.

2. The strict connexion between the prince and *Buck-  
 ingham*, is from hence very apparent. As is, in the  
 3d place, The dissimulation of *James*, so very re-  
 markable through his whole life. For tho’, on the sight  
 of the papers presented, he affected to talk of the *Spanish*  
 ambassadors as no better than traitors ; of his being  
 grieved for having suspected them, and of the clearness  
 of their innocency ; yet ’tis very probable, that in his  
 heart he never forgave *Buckingham*, nor was wholly  
 pleased with the prince, who adhered to him, and acted

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

with the duke, and they were both received into their former favour, at least as to outward appearance.

The *Spanish* match being now entirely broken off, and a war with that nation determined, a match was proposed with *France*, and the lords *Kensington* (afterwards well known by the title of earl of *Holland*) and *Carlisle* were appointed to negotiate it.

In a short time, every thing was agreed on, and great rejoicings were made, both at *Paris* and *London*, on account of the conclusion of the marriage-treaty, which contained articles equally as favourable to the *English* catholicks as that sworn to with *Spain*. But the death of *James*, which happened *March* 27, 1625, (not without causing (F) suspicions against *Buckingham*, and even prince *Charles*) prevented the consummation of it; though

contrary to his express will and desire in the impeachment and sentence of the earl of *Middlesex* (b).

(b) See Clarendon, vol. i. p. 23, 24.

(F) *The death of king James, which happened— not without causing suspicions against the duke of Buckingham, and even prince Charles, &c.* The grounds for suspecting that *Buckingham* poisoned king *James*, I have very particularly set forth in another place (c). But the suspicions against *Charles*, his son, are now to be mentioned; the impartiality of history requires it. 'Tis well known the house of commons, among other articles of impeachment against the duke of *Buckingham* in 1626, inserted one concerning the plaisters administered by him to king *James*, which, according to them, occasioned his death. The duke, in his defence, denied the charge, and

(c) Historical and critical account of the life and writings of James I. Lond. 8vo. 1753.

though soon afterwards (the duke of *Buckingham* being sent to conduct the queen, who

and protested his innocency: but the commons declared they were ready to prove it on him, unless prevented; which they were, by a dissolution. Upon this a charge is framed against prince *Charles*, as if he was concerned in the fact, and therefore unwilling it should undergo a parliamentary examination. 'Though king *Charles* was bound to prosecute king *James's* death, says sir *Edward Peyton*, committed contrary to all the laws of God and nations; yet king *Charles*, to save the duke, dissolved the parliament; and never after had the truth tried, to clear himself from confederacy, or the duke from so heinous a scandal. Now let all the world judge of *Charles's* carriage, whether he was not guilty of conniving at so foul a sin (d).'  
 (d) The divine catastrophe of the Stuarts, p. 19, 8vo. Lond. 1731.  
 —*Lilly*, in more moderate terms, delivers the censure on king *Charles*. 'That king *James* was really and absolutely poisoned by a plaister, applied by *Buckingham's* mother unto king *James's* stomach, was evidently proved before a committee: but whether *Buckingham* himself, or king *Charles*, was guilty, either in the knowledge of, or application of the plaister, I could never learn. Many feared the king did know of it, and they gave this reason; because, when the parliament did order to question *Buckingham* for it, and had prepared their charge or articles to present against him in the house of lords, and to accuse him thereof, his majesty, contrary to all expectation, and as in affront to both houses, and in the upper house, when the articles came up, gave *Buckingham* his hand to kiss, carried him away, &c. This action lost him the present parliament's affections; even the most sober of his friends held him very much overseen, to deny a parliamentary justice in any matter whatsoever; but in matter of poison, and the party poisoned being his father, in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding against the party suspected, it was to deny justice with a refractory hand

who had been espoused at *Paris* by the duke of *Chevereux* in the king's name) she landed at

(e) Observations on the life and death of king Charles, p. 20, at the end of the history of his life and times, 12mo. Lond. 1721. 'hand (e).—Milton, in severe terms, speaks of Charles on this account. 'Quam similis Neroni fuerit Carolus, ostendam. Nero, inquis, matrem suam, ferro, necavit. Carolus & patrem, & regem veneno; nam, ut alia omittam indicia, qui ducem veneficii reum legibus eripuit, fieri non potuit quin ipse reus quoque fuerit (f).' i. e. 'I will let you (speaking to *Salmasius*) see how like *Charles* was to *Nero*; *Nero*, you say, put to death his own mother. But *Charles* murdered both his prince and his father, by poison. For, to omit other evidences, he that would not suffer a duke that was accused of it, to come to his trial, must needs have been guilty of it himself.'—How this conclusion of *Milton* and the others will stand, the reader must determine. For my own part, though it is evident that *Charles* acted very unwisely in screening *Buckingham* from a trial, and gave grounds for his adversaries to surmise that he was not unconscious of the horrid deed, I cannot load his memory with it, for the following reasons.

1. He never shewed, by any other part of his conduct, that he was capable of being a party in so wicked an action. Now where men's private characters are fair, there should be positive proof, ere they be pronounced guilty; which I think is wanting here.

2. The charge is brought by bitter and implacable enemies, and therefore may be somewhat aggravated.

3. In the remonstrance presented to the king, Dec. 1, 1641, which sets forth his evil conduct from the beginning, there is no hint given that he was deemed culpable in this matter; nor do I remember, among all the sharp papers which were published by the two houses against him, that he is once charged with it.

4. At his trial it was not objected to him, nor was he reproached with it by *Cooke* or *Bradshaw*.

5. When going to the scaffold, it being asked him, 'Whether he were not consenting to his father's death,' he



at *Dover*, and was met there by his majesty, who accompanied her to *London*, where they were received with great expressions of affection and rejoicing. The name of this lady was *Henrietta Maria*, daughter of *Henry IV.* and sister to *Lewis XIII.* of *France*, said to be of an excellent air and beauty of countenance, of great vivacity, a lover of intrigues, and one who treated her husband with the utmost insolence (G). Her behaviour

he replied, ' Friend, if I had no other sin, (I speak it with reverence to God's majesty) I assure thee, I would never ask him pardon (g).'

These are the reasons for which I am for pronouncing (g) Sir Philip War-  
*Charles* innocent in this matter, nor have I any great wick's memoirs, p.  
doubt about the reader's concurring in the justice of the 342, 8vo.  
sentence. However the public, as it has a right, must London. 1702.  
judge of this as well as other matters here laid before it, and its judgment will be regulated by facts and reasonings only.

(G) *Henrietta Maria, a lady of excellent beauty, &c.]*  
Mr. *Waller* is very lavish in praise of the beauty of *Henrietta Maria*, in his poem inscribed to her on seeing her picture. The following lines are a specimen of his panegyric.

Your beauty more the fondest lover moves  
With admiration, than his private loves ;  
With admiration ! for a pitch so high  
(Save sacred *Charles* his) never love durst fly.  
Heav'n, that prefer'd a sceptre to your hand,  
Favour'd our freedom more than your command :  
Beauty has crown'd you, and you must have been  
The whole world's mistress other than a queen.  
All had been rivals, and you might have spar'd  
Or kill'd, and tyranniz'd, without a guard.

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

viour towards his majesty will best of all appear

Such eyes as your's, on *Yove* himself have thrown  
As bright and fierce a lightning as his own.

And in another poem by the same gentleman, addressed to her, there are these lines :

Such a complexion, and so radiant eyes,  
Such lovely motion, and such sharp replies ;  
Beyond our reach, and yet within our sight,  
What envious pow'r has plac'd this glorious light !

Whether Mr. *Waller* has taken too great a poetical liberty, will appear from the following description of this lady by lord *Kensington*, whilst negotiating the match, in a letter to prince *Charles*, dated Feb. 26, 1624. ‘ Sir, if  
‘ your intentions proceed this way, as by many reasons  
‘ of state and wisdom, (there is cause now rather to press  
‘ it, than slacken it) you will find a lady of as much love-  
‘ liness and sweetness to deserve your affection, as any  
‘ creature under heaven can do. And, sir, by all her  
‘ fashions since my being here, and by what I hear from  
‘ the ladies, it is most visible to me, her infinite value,  
‘ and respect unto you. Sir, I say not this to betray  
‘ your belief, but from a true observation, and know-  
‘ ledge of this to be so : I tell you this, and must some-  
‘ what more, in way of admiration of the person of  
‘ madam ; for the impressions I had of her were but or-  
‘ dinary, but the amazement extraordinary, to find her,  
‘ as I protest before God I did, the sweetest creature in  
‘ *France*. Her growth is very little, short of her age,  
‘ and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her dis-  
‘ course with her mother, and the ladies about her, with  
‘ extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances  
‘ (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw  
‘ any creature. They say she sings most sweetly ; I am  
‘ sure she looks so (b).’

(b) Cabala,  
p. 372.

But whatever was her beauty, the temper of her mind  
was far from being amiable ; she was bigotted to the  
*Romish*

pear by the following instructions given to lord

*Romish* religion, industrious in promoting its interests, and an adviser and an encourager of the king in his most imprudent actions. 'Go, coward, said she to his majesty, (when about to seize the five members) and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more (i).' When the civil war broke out, she went (i) *Echard*, into *Holland*, and pawned the crown-jewels, with which she bought ammunition, and sent to her husband. She soon afterwards returned, and gave him counsels most pernicious, as in the course of this work we shall see. Going again to *Paris*, she endeavoured to raise foreign forces for the king, though in vain; and, after his death, was reduced to great streights (k); insomuch that she requested cardinal *Mazarine* to solicit *Cromwell*, that he would at least return her dowry: but his solicitations were ineffectual (l). During the exile of the royal family, she was full of intrigues to get the ascendancy in her son's councils, and frequently quarrelled with his most faithful servants. Some time before the restoration, (k) *Memoirs of cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. p. 261, 12mo. *London*. 1723. (l) *Voltaire's age of Lewis XIV.* p. 88. 'the lord *Fermyn* had the queen greatly in awe of him, and had great interest with her concerns, was married to her, and had children by her (m).' When *Charles II.* mounted the throne in reality, she came over to *London*; but again returned to *Paris*, where she died *August 10, 1669.* (m) *Memoirs of sir John Reresby*, p. 4, 8vo. *London*. 1735.

The following extract will make a proper supplement to this note.—'The king's attachment to the counsels of the queen and her creatures, and his constant neglect of those of the truest friends of his own and the nation's real interest, is evident from the original letters of one of them, sir *Edward Nicholas* (n), secretary of state to him and to his son and successor. I shall single out a few passages from these letters. In one to lord *Hatton*, then at *Paris*, dated *Dec. 4, 1650*, sir *Edward* complains, that the counsels of the *Louvre*, where queen *Henrietta* resided, had been fatal to the crown of *England*. In another to the same lord, of the 1st of *Feb. 1650-1*, he expresses his fears, that those counsels, (n) Formerly in the possession of William Nicholas of West-Horley in Surrey, Esq; and now in that of sir John Evelyn of Wotton, in the same county, bart.

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

lord *Carlton*, dispatched by him to *Paris*, dated at *Wansted*, July 12, 1626 (H).

This

‘ sels, which ruined the father, and brought the good  
 ‘ and hopeful king [*Charles II.*] into the sad condition  
 ‘ in which he then was, would never do better. In one  
 ‘ to the marquis of *Ormond*, of *March* 1, 1650-1, he  
 ‘ observes, that for the king [*Charles II.*] to put himself  
 ‘ into the hands of those, whose counsels and conduct  
 ‘ had been so apparently unfortunate to his blessed father  
 ‘ and himself, was a prudence and policy that he could  
 ‘ not fathom. And in one to lord *Hatton*, of the 7th of  
 ‘ *June*, 1651, N. S. he prays, that the influence of those  
 ‘ of the *Louvre*, which would be a great discouragement  
 ‘ to honest men, might not prove as fatal to the  
 ‘ young king as to his father (o).’

(o) Appendix  
 to the inquiry  
 into the  
 share which  
 K. Charles  
 I. had in the  
 transactions  
 of the earl  
 of Glamorgan,  
 1755.

## (H) CHARLES REX.

‘ It is not unknown both to the *French* king and his  
 ‘ mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen  
 ‘ between my wife and me, which hitherto I have borne  
 ‘ with great patience, (as all the world knows) ever ex-  
 ‘ pecting and hoping an amendment; knowing her to be  
 ‘ but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels  
 ‘ of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather  
 ‘ than her own inclination: for at my first meeting  
 ‘ of her at *Dover*, I could not expect more testimonies  
 ‘ of respect and love than she shewed: as, to give one  
 ‘ instance, her first suit to me was, that she being young,  
 ‘ and coming to a strange country, both by her years and  
 ‘ ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit  
 ‘ many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with  
 ‘ her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my  
 ‘ instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired  
 ‘ me in these cases to use no third person, but to tell her  
 ‘ myself, when I found she did any thing amiss. I both  
 ‘ granted her request, and thanked her for it; but desired  
 ‘ her she would use me as she had desired me to use her,  
 ‘ which she willingly promised me, which promise she  
 ‘ never kept; for a little after this, madam *St. George*  
 ‘ taking

This representation of king *Charles* to his brother of *France*, and his sending home the queen's

taking a distaste, because I would not let her ride with  
 us in the coach, when there was women of better qua-  
 lity to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in  
*England* we think a strange thing) set my wife in such  
 an humour of distaste against me, as from that very  
 hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me two  
 days together with so much respect as I deserved of her;  
 but, by the contrary, has put so many disrespectts upon  
 me, as it were too long to set down all. Some I will  
 relate: as I take it, it was at her first coming to *Hamp-*  
*ton-court*, I sent some of my council to her, with those  
 orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house,  
 desiring she would command the counte of *Tilliers*,  
 that the same might be kept in her's: her answer was,  
 she hoped that I would give her leave to order her  
 house as she list herself, (now if she had said that she  
 would speak with me, not doubting to give me satis-  
 faction in it, I could have found no fault, whatsoever  
 she would have said of this to myself; for I could only  
 impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine that  
 she affronted me so, as to refuse me in such a thing  
 publicly.) After I heard this answer, I took a time  
 (when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it)  
 to tell her calmly both her fault in the public denial,  
 as her mistaking the business itself. She, instead of ac-  
 knowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an  
 answer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of  
 that discourse, having too much of that nature here-  
 after to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the  
 pains to set down, as her eschewing to be in my com-  
 pany: when I have any thing to speak to her, I must  
 means her servant first, else I am sure to be denied; her  
 neglect of the *English* tongue, and of the nation in  
 general. I will also omit the affront she did me before  
 my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament,  
 because there has been talk enough of that already, &c.  
 and

queen's servants who attended her into *England*, and were to have been of her household,  
was

and the author of it is before you in *France*. To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is recent in my memory: I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness, that it wanted but my consent to the particulars then had chosen: she, taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night when I was a-bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning; but withal told her, that, by agreement in *France*, I had the naming of them. She said, there were both *English* and *French* in the note. I replied, that those *English* I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm; but for the *French*, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had brevets from her mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power nor her's to admit any without my leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bad me plainly take my lands to myself; for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor house of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bad her then remember to whom she spake, and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how she is miserable in having no power to place servants, and that business succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse. Thus having so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should

was owing to *Buckingham* (1), who, on a particular passion, took all the ways he could to

' should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to *Tiburn* in devotion to pray; which action can have no greater invective made against, than the relation.— Therefore you shall tell my brother the *French* king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason: and being an action that some may interpret to be of harshness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it, because in all things I would preserve the good correspondence and brotherly affection that is between us \*.

(1) *This representation of the king's, his sending home the queen's servants who were to have been of her household, was owing to Buckingham, &c.*] There is something curious enough in the accounts given us of the cause of *Buckingham's* aversion to *France*, and the vexations he caused to the queen of *England*, which at length

\* The king's cabinet opened, or certain packets or secret letters and papers written with the king's own hand, and taken in his cabinet in *Nashfield*, June 14, 1645, by victorious sir *Thomas Fairfax*. Published by special order of parliament, London, 4to. 1645. As I shall have occasion frequently to quote these letters, it will be proper, once for all, to establish their authority. This will be best done by king *Charles* himself, who, in a letter to secretary *Nicholas*, has these words: ' Though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are mine which they have set out in my name, (only some words here and there are mistaken, and some commas misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good protestant or honest man blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justify myself; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private letters were publicly seen, as mine have now been.' King *Charles's* works, p. 155,

raised

to exasperate the *French* court, and to lessen the king's affection towards his young queen, fear-

raised a war that ended ingloriously to himself and his matter, as I shall have occasion hereafter to shew.

‘ In his embassy in *France*, where his person and presence was wonderfully admired and esteemed, and in which he appeared with all the lustre the wealth of *England* could adorn him with, and outshined all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and overacted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities; he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses; insomuch as, when the king had brought the queen his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the duke, to be by him conducted into *England*, the duke, in his journey, after the departure of that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger. But he swore, in the instant, that he would see and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of *France*. And from the time that the queen arrived in *England*, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that court and nation, by causing all those that fled into *England* from the justice and displeasure of that king, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the persons were, and the more notorious their king's displeasure was towards them, the more respectfully they were received and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to incense the king against *France*, and to dispose him to assist the Huguenots, whom he likewise  
‘ en-



fearing lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs. And it was

‘ encouraged to give their king some trouble. And, which was worse than all this, he took great pains to lessen the king’s affection towards his young queen, being exceedingly jealous lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs: and in this stratagem, he had brought himself to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness towards the queen; so that, upon expostulations with her on a trivial occasion, he told her she should repent it; and her majesty answering with some quickness, he replied insolently to her, that there had been queens in *England* who had lost their heads (p).’—In order that the reader may the (p) <sup>Clarendon, vol. i.</sup> better understand all this, I will here transcribe a few passages from the memoirs of madam de Motteville, a favourite of *Anne of Austria*, wife to *Lewis XIII.*—‘ At the queen of *England*’s leaving *Amiens*, the French court accompanied her majesty a little way out of the city, and the queen of *France* (says madam de Motteville) has done me the honour to tell me, that when the duke of *Buckingham* came to kiss her gown, she being in the fore-seat of the coach with the princess of *Conti*, he hid himself with the curtain, as if he had something to say to her; but, in reality, to wipe away the tears which then came into his eyes. The princess of *Conti*, who had an agreeable way of raillery, and, as I have heard, a great deal of wit, said, on this occasion, speaking of the queen, that she would be answerable to the king for her virtue; but that she could not say so of her cruelty, since, without doubt, the tears of that lover, which she had seen on this occasion, ought to have touched her heart, and that she had suspected her eyes to have looked on him at least with pity. The duke of *Buckingham*’s passion (continues the lady) prompted him to a bold action, which the queen has informed me of; and which has been confirmed to me by the queen of *England*, who had it from *Buckingham*.

universally known, says lord *Clarendon* (q),  
that, during his life, the queen had never  
any

‘ *ban* himself. That illustrious stranger having left  
‘ *Amiens*, in order to return to *England*, whither he was  
‘ to conduct the princess of *France*, now queen of *Eng-*  
‘ *land*, to her husband; being overcome by his passion;  
‘ and unable to bear the pains of absence, resolved to see  
‘ the queen of *France* again, tho’ it were but for a mo-  
‘ ment. He formed that design when he was come al-  
‘ most to *Calais*, and he executed it under pretence of  
‘ news which he had received from the king his master,  
‘ that obliged him to return to *Amiens*. He left the  
‘ queen of *England* at *Boulogne*, and came back to *Mary*  
‘ *de Medicis*, then queen-mother, to treat about some  
‘ pretended affairs, which he took for the pretext of his  
‘ return. After having done with his chimerical nego-  
‘ tiation, he came to the reigning queen, whom he found  
‘ in bed, almost alone. That princess was informed by  
‘ a letter from the dutchess *de Chevreuse*, who accom-  
‘ panied the queen of *England*, of *Buckingham’s* coming  
‘ back. She spoke of it before *Nogent* in a jesting man-  
‘ ner, and was not surprised when she saw the duke.  
‘ But she was so when he came freely to kneel down by  
‘ her bed-side, kissing her sheet with such uncommon  
‘ transport, that it was easy to perceive that his passion  
‘ was violent, and of that kind which does not leave  
‘ the use of reason to those that are seized with it. The  
‘ queen has told me, that she was troubled at it; which  
‘ trouble, joined with a little indignation, made her con-  
‘ tinue a long time without speaking to him. The coun-  
‘ tesses *de Lannoi*, then her lady of honour, not being  
‘ willing to suffer the duke to continue in that condition,  
‘ told him, with a great deal of severity, that what he  
‘ did was not customary in *France*, and would have made  
‘ him rise. But the duke, without appearing surprised,  
‘ disputed with the old lady, saying, that he was no  
‘ *Frenchman*, and not bound to observe the laws of the  
‘ kingdom. Then addressing himself to the queen, he  
‘ said

any credit with the king, with reference to any public affairs. But the death of that  
favour-

‘ said aloud to her the most tender things imaginable,  
‘ which she answered only with complaints at his bold-  
‘ ness; and, perhaps, (says the lady) without being very  
‘ angry, she ordered him severely to rise and begone.  
‘ He did so; and having seen her the next day, in pre-  
‘ sence of all the court, he went away, fully resolved to  
‘ return into *France* as soon as possible. All matters  
‘ relating to *Buckingham* were told king *Lewis* to his  
‘ queen’s disadvantage. The queen of *England* (con-  
‘ tinues madam *Mottreville*) has since related to me, that  
‘ quickly after her marriage with king *Charles* I. she had  
‘ some dislike to the king her husband, and that *Buck-*  
‘ *ingham* fomented it; that gentleman saying to her face,  
‘ that he would set her and her husband at variance, if  
‘ he could. He succeeded in it; and the queen, in her  
‘ affliction, was desirous of returning into *France*, to see  
‘ the queen her mother; and as she knew the passionate  
‘ desire which the duke had of seeing once more the  
‘ young queen of *France*, she spoke to him of her de-  
‘ sign. He embraced it with eagerness, and he served  
‘ her powerfully in obtaining leave from the king her  
‘ husband to execute it. The queen of *England* wrote  
‘ about it to the queen her mother, desiring leave to  
‘ bring the duke of *Buckingham*, without whom she could  
‘ not take that voyage. She was refused both by the  
‘ queen her mother, and by the king her brother, her  
‘ design coming to nothing, by reason of that of the duke  
‘ of *Buckingham*. This gentleman (says the lady) raised  
‘ a division between the two crowns, that he might have  
‘ an occasion of returning into *France*, by the necessity  
‘ there would be for a treaty of peace (r).’

The insolence, pride, lust, and revenge of *Bucking-*  
*ham*, appear from these passages, better than from a  
thousand descriptions: and it cannot but somewhat dimi-  
nish the character of *Charles*, even in the eyes of his most  
zealous and devout admirers, when they consider that  
this

(r) *Memoirs*  
towards  
writing the  
history of  
Anne of  
Austria, at  
the end of  
the 4th vol.  
of *Rets me-*  
*moires*, p.  
186--290.  
See also *Re-*  
*han's me-*  
*moires*, p.  
131, 8vo.  
this *Lond.* 1660.

favourite, which happened by the hand of a well-meaning assassin (κ), Aug. 23, 1628, gave

this man, vile and abandoned in morals as he was, was his chief favourite; and that tho' he might not do such things himself, yet he had pleasure in him that did them.

(κ) *Buckingham's death happened by the hand of a well-meaning assassin.*] This was *John Felton*, a gentleman of family in *Suffolk*, of good fortune and reputation; who had been a lieutenant in the army; which quitting, he resided in *London*: where learning what an enemy to the nation *Buckingham* was, and that the house of commons had declared him 'the cause of all the evils the kingdom suffered, and an enemy to the public,' he believed he should do God good service if he killed the duke. Which shortly after he resolved to do, and actually accomplished at *Portsmouth* (where *Buckingham* then was, preparing and making ready the fleet and army designed for the relief of *Rochelle*, straitly besieged by *Richlieu*); for he struck him with a knife over his shoulder upon the breast, which piercing his heart, soon occasioned his death. *Felton*, tho' he might easily have escaped amidst the hurry and confusion the assassination occasioned, unconscious of ill, but glorying in his noble exploit, walked calmly before the door of the house, owned and justified the fact; tho' before his death he is said to have repented of it, and asked pardon of 'the king, the dutches, and all the duke's servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended (s).' That *Felton* was an assassin, must be owned: that assassinations are, for the most part, very unjustifiable actions, must be acknowledged; but where the principles, on which such assassinations are founded, appear plausible, and the assassins appear to have acted out of views to the public good, however mistaken, and not out of self-interest or private revenge; I say, where this is the case, as it seems here to have been, we cannot help pitying the criminals, tho' we condemn the crime. But to proceed in the history. *Felton*, after having been confined in prison at *London*, 'was called before

(s) *Charendon*, vol. i. p. 30.

gave the queen an opportunity of exerting an influence over his majesty, which she retained

‘ before the council, where he confessed his inducement  
 ‘ abovementioned to the murder. The council much  
 ‘ pressed him to confess who set him on work to do such  
 ‘ a bloody act, and if the puritans had no hand therein :  
 ‘ he denied they had ; and so he did to the last, that no  
 ‘ person whatsoever knew any thing of his intentions or  
 ‘ purpose to kill the duke, that he revealed it to none  
 ‘ living. Dr. *Laud*, bishop of *London*, being then at the  
 ‘ council-table, told him, if he would not confess, he  
 ‘ must go to the rack. *Felton* replied, if it must be so,  
 ‘ he could not tell whom he might nominate in the ex-  
 ‘ tremity of torture ; and if what he should say then  
 ‘ must go for truth, he could not tell whether his lord-  
 ‘ ship (meaning *Laud*), or which of their lordships, he  
 ‘ might name ; for torture might draw unexpected things  
 ‘ from him. After this he was asked no more questions,  
 ‘ but sent back to prison. The council then fell into  
 ‘ debate, whether, by the law of the land, they could  
 ‘ justify the putting him to the rack ; which, by order of  
 ‘ the king, being propounded to all the judges, they  
 ‘ unanimously agreed, that he ought not, by the law, to  
 ‘ be tortured by the rack ; for no such punishment is  
 ‘ known or allowed by our law (t).’ Whereupon, being (t) *Rush-*  
 convicted on his own confession, he was hung up in worth, vol. i.  
 chains. We see here the true spirit of an ecclesiastic p. 632.  
 (armed with power) in *Laud* ! Cruelty is the distinguish-  
 ing character. Racks present themselves presently to the  
 imagination of a superstitious tyrannical priest, as the  
 fittest punishments for offenders. Power in such hands,  
 therefore, should never be lodged, because it will dege-  
 nerate into tyranny, and render unhappy such as are un-  
 der it.—Let the fate of *Buckingham* also be a warning  
 to all ministers not to pursue wicked measures ; for de-  
 struction, in all probability, will come upon them. Pub-  
 lic justice may make them examples : a *Felton* may arise  
 to dispatch them ; or if neither of these should occasion  
 D their

tained to the last moment of his life. For  
(L) he was remarkably uxorious, con-  
sulted

their fall, but they should brave justice and escape its stroke, yet their names shall be branded with infamy and reproach in the annals of the times in which they lived, though pimps and parasites have ever so loudly sounded their praises.

The following account of *Felton* may be looked on as no improper supplement to this note.—‘He was of a religious and quiet conversation, given to no open vice nor whimsical opinions, being a frequent hearer of those preachers as were never found to give encouragement to such practices, but rather the contrary.—Nor was *honest Jack*, a title always given him, (though rendered after more diffusive, by the duke’s enemies, than so ill a consequence might merit) agitated by revenge, or any privater spirit than what he was persuaded did regard the commonweal; as I heard *William* earl of *Pembroke* protest, who could not but be the best informed, having assisted at his examinations: who did withal aver, he never saw piety and valour better or more temperately mixed in one person; nor was he found, as the same lord attested, in any untruth (t).’ I think I had reason to give *Felton* the epithet of well-meaning.

(t) Osborn’s works, p. 224. 8vo. Lond. 1673.

(L) *He was remarkably uxorious, &c.*] Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us, that ‘king *Charles* was always more

(u) *Memoirs*, p. 204.

‘chairy of the queen’s person, than of his business (u).’ —*Burnet* observes, ‘that he was unreasonably feeble to

(w) *Burnet’s* history of his own times, vol. i. p. 70. Dutch edit.

‘those whom he trusted, chiefly to the queen (w).’ And if we turn to his letters, taken at *Naseby*, we shall find the strongest proofs of the regard he paid to her advice, and her influence over him. I will transcribe a few passages from among many. In a letter, dated *Oxford*, 13 Feb. 1643, we have the following expressions:—

‘I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that, for my sake, thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much less by

sulted his wife in all his affairs, was influenced by her, and, in a manner, wholly at

‘ by words: but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart.—Some finds fault as too much kindness to thee; but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee, on all occasions. Others press me, as being brought upon the stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it (x).’ (x) King’s cabinet opened, p. 38.  
Nor were these meer expressions; for, in fact, he cared not to do any thing without first consulting her majesty, and obtaining her approbation.

‘ Now,’ says he, in a letter to the queen, dated May 14, 1645, ‘ I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles; which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this: he hath sent to desire me, that sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber; but already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father’s merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the West; yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee, first, to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy own consent; and lastly, to believe, that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday, at the delivery of my son’s letter. So farewell, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee (y).’

(y) Id. p. 10.

And in a letter, dated 9 June 1645, speaking of the good state of his affairs to her, he adds, ‘ Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitz-williams, assuring  
D 2 ‘ me

at her disposal. So that we may reasonably

pre-

(x) King's  
cabinet, p.  
14.

' me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; for as divers men proposes several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for (x).' From these and many like passages, it appears how uxorious *Charles* was; how much governed by a woman! And consequently, in the opinion of some brave spirits, in a state most ignominious. 'An ille mihi liber, cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, præscribit, jubet, vetat quod videtur? qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? poscit? dandum est: vocat? veniendum: ejicit? abeundum: minatur? extimescendum. Ego verò istum non modo servum, sed nequissimum servum, etiam si in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto (a).' i. e. 'Shall I esteem the man to be free who is the slave of a woman, who imposes laws on him, commands, forbids, and regulates his conduct at pleasure; who neither can refuse what she requests, nor dares disobey her orders? If she asks any thing, it must be given; does she call? he must answer; when shut out, he must quietly be gone: in a word, if she threatens him, he must of course be filled with terror. Such a man, let his birth and family be ever so illustrious, deserves, in my opinion, not simply the appellation of slave, but that of the most servile of all slaves.'

(a) Cic. *Paradoxa*, vol. ii.

— God's universal law

Gave to the man despotic power

Over his female in due awe,

Nor from that right to part an hour,

Smile she or lour:

So shall he least confusion draw

On his whole life, not sway'd

By female usurpation, or dismay'd.

*Milton.*

These things are boldly said! but possibly they who uttered them, might not themselves have been able wholly



presume, (M) the reproaches which have been cast on him of infidelity to the marriage-

to make them good; for women, in all ages, have had great sway. Beauty has triumphed over the wise, the brave, and good; and therefore *Charles*, in this respect, may be intitled to some degree of pity! Though, after all, to admit a wife to dictate and direct in matters of state, to interfere in the affairs of a kingdom, to whose laws and customs she was a stranger, and whose religious opinions and practices she abhorred; I say, to do this, was weak and inexcusable.

(M) *The reproaches that have been cast upon him of infidelity to the marriage-bed, are without foundation, &c.*] The licentiousness of some writers is very amazing: not content to represent princes as they really were, they study to blacken them, though without foundation. This has happened to *Charles* very remarkably. One should have thought his attachment to the queen, her ascendancy over him, the regard he paid her, and his having never a mistress publicly mentioned, should have hindered even a thought of his unchastity. But he has not passed unsuspected of this, as well as other matters, in which, probably, he had no concern.—Let us hear his accusation.—‘He did not greatly court the ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many: he was manly, and well fitted for venereous sports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds. I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him (b).’—

(b) Lilly’s observations on the life of king Charles, p. 11.  
Sir Edward Peyton tells us, ‘the queen was very jealous of the king; insomuch as he, loving a very great lady, now alive, whom he had for a mistress, to the intent he might have more freedom with her, sent her lord into the Low Countries. In the mean while, he daily courted her at *Oxford*, in her husband’s and the queen’s absence: but the lord returning, the king diverted his affectionate thoughts to another married lady, of whom the queen was jealous at her return from *France*; so that, on a time, this lady being in queen *Mary*’s presence, and dressed à-la-mode, the queen viewing her

riage-bed, are without foundation, though we had not those strong assurances of his chastity

round, told the lady, she would be a better mistress for a king than a wife for a knight. The lady replied, Madam, I had rather be mistress to a king, than any man's wife in the world. For which answer, she was obliged to absent herself from court a long time (c).'

(c) Divine  
catastrophe,  
p. 33.

The last evidence against *Charles*, on this head, shall be *Milton*, who, in his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, has these words: 'Castimoniam tu ejus & continentiam laudes, quem cum duce *Buckinghamio* flagitiis omnibus coopertum novimus? secretiora ejus & recessus perscrutari quid attinet, qui in theatro medias mulieres petulanter amplecti, & suaviari, qui virginum & matronarum papillas, ne dicam cætera, pertractare in propatulo consueverat. Te porrò moneo pseudo *Plutarche*, ut istius modi parallelis ineptissimis de hinc supersedeas, ne ego quæ tacerem alioqui libens de *Carolo*, necesse habeam enuntiare (d).'*i. e.* 'Have you the impudence (speaking to *Salmasius*) to commend his chastity and sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of lewdness in company with his confident the duke of *Buckingham*? It were to no purpose to enquire into the private actions of his life, who publickly, at plays, would embrace and kiss the ladies lasciviously, and handle virgins and matrons breasts, not to mention the rest. I advise you therefore, you counterfeited *Plutarch*, to abstain from such like parallels, [between *Charles* and *David*, and *Solomon*] lest I be forced to publish those things concerning *Charles*, which I am willing to conceal.'

(d) Milton's  
works, vol.  
ii. p. 315.

Many objections arise on the face of this evidence against *Charles's* chastity. *Lilly* does not positively say that he had any natural children, but that he did not hear of above one or two; which is a very indeterminate way of talking, in such an affair. *Peyton* is very positive, we see; but he names no lady, tho' he speaks of two: which I am persuaded, from his hatred to the memory of *Charles*, he would have done, had he known on whom with

chastity we now have. He was, indeed, remarkably grave and sober in his whole behaviour,

with certainty to have pitched; not to take notice that the queen never was at *Oxford* after her return from *France*, as *Peyton* seems to assert. *Milton* is a name at all times to be mentioned with honour; but truth compels me to say, that what he here speaks has much, too much, the air of declamation to be entirely relied on. *Buckingham* was lewd; but no one, but *Milton*, hints that *Charles* was a partaker of his vices; and his evidence, delivered in such a way, (as he himself could not have been a spectator) is not sufficient to condemn him. The handling virgins and matrons breasts, though not seemingly consistent with the gravity *Charles* remarkably preserved in his whole behaviour, depends much on the custom of ages and countries; and therefore, had it been ever so publicly done, cannot of itself determine against a man's chastity. A single fact, advanced with proper vouchers, would have been of more force in determining the chastity of *Charles*, than a thousand of these kind of assertions and inferences. But as such a fact, properly attested, has not been brought, even by *Peyton* or *Milton*, we may, I think, conclude that they could not; and consequently, that in this matter he was blameless.—There is a letter published lately, in *Gibber's Lives of the Poets*, said once to have belonged to archbishop *Sancroft*, which is thought to evidence *Charles's* being engaged in one intrigue in his youth. It is addressed to the duke of *Buckingham*, in the terms following:

‘ *Stenny,*

‘ I have nothing now to write to you, but to give you  
 ‘ thanks both for the good counsel ye gave me, and for  
 ‘ the event of it. The king gave me a good sharp por-  
 ‘ tion; but you took away the working of it, by the  
 ‘ well-relished comfites ye sent after it. I have met with  
 ‘ the party, that must not be named, once already; and  
 ‘ the culler of writing this letter, shall make me meet  
 ‘ with her on *Saturday*, altho’ it is written the day being  
 D 4 ‘ *Thurs-*

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

viour, free from intemperance, and but little addicted to the foolish custom of swearing, though

\* *Thursday*. So, assuring you that the business goes safely on, I rest your constant friend,

CHARLES.\*

\* I hope you will not shew the king this letter; but put

(c) Cibber's  
lives of the  
poets, vol.  
ii. p. 302,  
Lond. 1753.  
12mo.

\* 'it in the safe custody of Mr. *Vulcan* (c).'

That this letter relates to some intrigue is certain: whether it was of the amorous, or whether of the political kind, may be pretty hard certainly to say. Possibly the business related in note (E) may help to explain it.

I proceed now to give the direct proofs of *Charles's* chastity, that no suspicion may be left in the mind of the reader.

(f) Clarendon, vol. v. p. 257.

Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that 'he was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service (f).'

(g) King Charles's works, p. 106.

And the day before his death he bad 'his daughter *Elizabeth* tell her mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that 'his love should be the same to the last (g).'

To these testimonies I will add that of *May*, a writer professedly on the side of the parliament, and secretary for it, as he styles himself. 'The same affections [of love and esteem] followed him [*Charles*] to the throne: says he, the same hopes and fair prelates of his future government, whilst they considered the temperance of his youth, how clear he had lived from personal vice, being grown to the age of twenty-three; how untainted of those licentious extravagancies, which unto that age and fortune are not only incident, but almost thought excusable (b).'

And in another place he observes, 'that *Charles* lived more conformably to the rules of the protestant religion, than any of his contemporary princes

(b) May's history of the parliament of England, p. 7, folio, Lond. 1647.

' in

though he kept not wholly free from it on particular occasions, or great provocations (i). (i) Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 451.  
(N) He was diligent and exact in the performance of the external acts of religion, and

‘ in Europe (k).’ And the earl of *Leicester* speaks of this (k) May’s  
king’s life as profitable to all Christians, by the exem- history, p. 11.  
plariness thereof (l). I think here is such suffi- (l) Sidney’s state-papers, vol. ii. p. 418.  
cient evidence of *Charles’s* chastity, that he cannot, with the least shadow of reason, be deemed guilty of incontinence, and consequently in this respect that he was praise-worthy.

For chastity, even in a prince, is a virtue, and productive of many happy effects. Vice, though not extirpated by the royal example, will skulk into corners, and be afraid to shew her head: infamy and dishonour will attend those who are known publicly to practise it; the marriage-bed will be revered and honoured, and peace, harmony, and concord in families prevail. Whereas if the prince is lewd and debauched, if he roams abroad and violates the virgin, or adulterously invades the matron’s bed †, and fears not to proclaim his unchaste deeds; no wonder those around him are emboldened by his example, and openly practise every act of uncleanness.

(N) *He was diligent and exact in the performance of the external acts of religion.*] As this part of *Charles’s* character has not been denied, a few testimonies will be sufficient to confirm it.—‘ He was, says lord *Clarendon*, ‘ very punctual and regular in his devotions: he was

† Princes, addicted to this practice, should ask themselves, how they would like to be addressed in *Butler’s* lines to *Charles II.*

Thy great example prompts each spouse  
To make a jest of marriage-vows;  
Encourages each beauteous dame  
To sin, without the fear of shame;  
Makes all thy peers turn keeping cullies,  
To imitate thy princely follies.

I fancy, few princes would think these verses contained an encomium.

‘ never

and is said to have been regular and constant in the private exercise of devotion, setting a pat-

(m) Clarendon, vol. v. p. 257.

(n) Heylin's life of Laud, fol. p. 166, Lond. 1668.

‘ never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at publick prayers; so that, on hunting-days, his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet-devotion; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence, in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered; and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean (m).’  
 ‘ Laud, says Heylin, humbly moved his majesty, that he would be present at the Liturgy, as well as the sermon every Lord’s-day; and that at whatsoever part of prayers he came, the priest, who ministred, should proceed to the end of the service. To which his majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious motion (n).’ Let us add hereunto Dr. Perinchief’s testimony, concerning this king’s devotion, that we may see it in its full extent.—‘ His majesty’s constant diligence in those duties [of religion] did demonstrate, that nothing but a principle of holiness, which is always uniform, both moved and assisted him in those sacred performances, to which he was observed to go with an exceeding alacrity as to a ravishing pleasure, from which no lesser pleasures nor business were strong enough for a diversion. In the morning, before he went to hunting, his beloved sport, the chaplains were before day called to their ministry: and when he was at *Brainford*, among the noise of arms, and near the assaults of his enemies, he caused the divine, that then waited, to perform his accustomed service, before he provided for safety, or attempted at victory; and would first gain upon the love of heaven, and then afterwards repel the malice of men.—At sermons he carried him-

self

pattern to others in what related to the worship and service of almighty God: so that it

‘ self with such a reverence and attention, (that his enemies which hated, yet did even admire him in it) as if he were expecting new instructions for government from that God whose deputy he was, or a new charter for a larger empire: and he was so careful not to neglect any of those exercises, that if on *Tuesday* mornings, on which days there used to be sermons at court, he were at any distance from thence, he would ride hard to be present at the beginnings of them (o).’ (o) Perin-chief’s life of king Charles, p. 60.

Though we make some allowances for what these writers panegyrically have written, concerning the devotion of this prince, we shall be forced to own, that his behaviour in matters of religion was indeed exemplary, and that he was at a great distance from the character of the scorner.—It is true, a man’s character is not to be determined by these external acts of piety; it being very possible that men may, with respect to these, be blameless, though the weightier matters of the law be neglected. For which reason, *Milton*, without disputing the fact, observes, ‘ that he who from such kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn, and knows not that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious. And *Aristotle*, in his *Politics*, hath mentioned that special craft, among twelve other tyrannical sophisms. Neither want we examples: *Andronicus Comnenus*, the *Byzantine* emperor, though a most cruel tyrant, is reported, by *Nicetas*, to have been a constant reader of *St. Paul’s* Epistles; and, by continual study, had so incorporated the phrase and stile of that transcendent apostle into all his familiar letters, that the imitation seemed to vie with the original. Yet this availed not to deceive the people of that empire, who, notwithstanding his saint’s vizard, tore him to pieces for his tyranny. From stories of this nature, both antient and modern, which

‘ abound,

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

it would be hardly credible (did not historians unanimously concur in recording the fact)

‘ abound, the poets also, and some *English*, have been,  
 ‘ in this point, so mindful of decorum, as to put never  
 ‘ more pious words in the mouth of any person than of  
 ‘ a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author,  
 ‘ wherein the king might be less conversant; but one  
 ‘ whom we well know was the closet-companion of  
 ‘ these his solitudes, *William Shakespear*, who introduces  
 ‘ the person of *Richard III.* speaking in as high a strain  
 ‘ of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage  
 ‘ of this book [the *Eikon Basilike*], and sometimes to  
 ‘ the same sense and purpose with some words in this  
 ‘ place: I intended, saith he, not only to oblige my  
 ‘ friends, but my enemies. The like saith *Richard*,  
 ‘ Act II. Scene I.

‘ I do not know that *Englishman* alive,  
 ‘ With whom my soul is any jot at odds,  
 ‘ More than the infant that is born to-night;  
 ‘ I thank my God for my humility.

‘ Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the  
 ‘ whole tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence  
 ‘ in departing from the truth of history, which delivers  
 ‘ him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but  
 ‘ of his religion (p).’

(p) Milton's  
 prose works,  
 vol. i. p.  
 408.

There is great justness in these remarks, whether they affect the case of king *Charles* or no, which will best appear after the reader has attentively considered him in his private and publick character: for all that he is represented as having done, may have been nothing more than a meer form of godliness, though it was ever so sincere, as I see no reason to suppose the contrary. Thousands of men have done as much or more, who yet were far enough from being virtuous. For he that doth righteousness, is righteous: he that doth it not, deceives himself, if he thinks he has any right to that character, on account of diligence and exactness in the acts of private or publick devotion.



fact) that he should revive the declaration of his father, concerning lawful sports (o) on the the

Far be it from me to censure *Charles* on the account of his devotion. 'Twere to be wished men's characters were always uniform, that where there was an appearance of piety, every virtue was also to be found; but as it is well known this is not the case, we are not to presume a man good, because he is devout.

(o) *That he should revive the declaration of his father, concerning lawful sports on the Lord's-day, &c.* One would have thought that the strict observation of the Lord's-day would have been agreeable to the grave and religious temper of *Charles*; for it tends much to increase sobriety of thought and behaviour, and to keep up in men's minds a sense of the Deity, the obligations they are under to worship him, and the account they have to render unto him, as well as many other good purposes. This the lord chief justice *Richardson*, and the justices of peace for *Somersetshire*, were very sensible of, and therefore made an order at the assizes for the suppression of ales and revels on the Lord's-day in that county; thinking them dishonourable to God, and prejudicial to his majesty and the country. Hereupon *Laud*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, complained to the king; and the chief justice was commanded to attend the board, and, notwithstanding all he could alledge, to revoke his order, which at the next assizes he was forced to do, contrary to his inclinations, as well as to the inclinations of the lord *Paulet*, sir *William Portman*, sir *John Stowell*, sir *Ralph Hopton*, sir *Francis Popham*, sir *Edward Rodney*, sir *Francis Doddington*, sir *Jo. Hornet*, *Edward Paulet*, *William Bassett*, *George Speke*, *John Wyndham*, *Thomas Lutterel*, *William Walrone*, and divers others; who drew up a petition to the king, shewing the great inconveniences that would befall the county, if these meetings and assemblies should now be set up again. But before these gentlemen could deliver their petition to the king, it was prevented by the coming forth of his majesty's declaration, concerning lawful sports; his majesty giving the ensuing warrant for the same.

CHARLES

the Lord's-day, discountenance such as were for a strict observance of it, and even at coun-

‘ CHARLES REX.

‘ *Canterbury*, see that our declaration, concerning recreations on the Lord's-day, after evening-prayer, be printed.’

And accordingly, on the 18th of *October*, 1633, it came forth in print, and was to this effect :

‘ That king *James*, of blessed memory, in his return from *Scotland*, coming through *Lancashire*, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon *Sundays*, after evening-prayers ended, and upon holy-days. And he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all, to refresh their spirits. And, after his return, he further saw, that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree; and did therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times; which was printed and published by his royal commandment in the year 1618, in the tenor which hereafter followeth.

‘ Whereas, upon his majesty's return last year out of *Scotland*, he did publish his pleasure, touching the recreations of his people in those parts, under his hand. For some causes him thereunto moving, hath thought good to command these his directions, then given in *Lancashire*, with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of the realm, to be published to all his subjects.

‘ Whereas he did justly, in his progress through *Lancashire*, rebuke some puritans and precise people; and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of his good people for using their lawful recreations, and honest exercises, upon *Sundays*, and other holidays, after the afternoon-sermon

‘ or

council suffer the chief justice *Richardson* to be reprimanded in such a severe manner,  
by

‘ or service. His majesty hath now found, that two  
‘ sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected, viz. papists and puritans, hath maliciously traduced and calumniated those his just and honourable  
‘ proceedings: and therefore, lest his reputation might, upon the one side (though innocently), have some  
‘ aspersions laid upon it; and that, upon the other part, his good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of his meaning, his majesty hath therefore thought good hereby to clear and  
‘ make his pleasure to be manifested to all his good people in those parts.

‘ It is true, that, at his first entry to this crown and kingdom, he was informed, and that truly, that his  
‘ county of *Lancashire* abounded more in popish recusants than any county of *England*, and thus hath still continued since, to his great regret, with little amendment; save that, now of late, in his last riding through his  
‘ said county, hath found, both by the report of the judges and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is  
‘ some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to his majesty. The report of this  
‘ growing amendment amongst them, made his majesty the more sorry, when, with his own ears, he heard the  
‘ general complaint of his people, that they were debarred from all lawful recreations and exercise upon the  
‘ *Sunday*’s afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils: the one, the hindering the conversion of many, whom their priests  
‘ will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in the religion which the king professeth, and which cannot  
‘ but breed a great discontentment in his people’s hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point  
‘ of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people  
‘ from using such exercises as may make their bodies  
‘ more

by the bishop of *London*, that, says *Heylin*,  
he came out blubbering and complaining,  
that

‘ more able for war, when his majesty or his successors  
‘ shall have occasion to use them ; and, in place thereof,  
‘ sets up tipling and filthy drunkenness, and breeds a  
‘ number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-  
‘ houses. For when shall the common people have leave  
‘ to exercise, if not upon the *Sundays* and holidays, see-  
‘ ing that they must apply their labour, and win their  
‘ living, in all working-days ?

‘ The king’s express pleasure therefore is, that the  
‘ laws of this kingdom, and canons of the church, be as  
‘ well observed in that county, as in all other places of  
‘ this his kingdom. And, on the other part, that no  
‘ lawful recreation shall be barred to his good people,  
‘ which shall not tend to the breach of the aforesaid  
‘ laws and canons of his church : which to express more  
‘ particularly, his majesty’s pleasure is, that the bishops,  
‘ and all other inferior churchmen, and church-wardens,  
‘ shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to  
‘ instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them  
‘ that are misled in religion ; presenting them that will  
‘ not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to  
‘ the judges and justices ; whom he likewise commands  
‘ to put the laws in due execution against them.

‘ His majesty’s pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of  
‘ the diocese take the like strict order with all the puritans  
‘ and precisians within the same, either constrain them  
‘ to conform themselves, or to leave the country, ac-  
‘ cording to the laws of this kingdom and canons of this  
‘ church, and so to strike equally on both hands against  
‘ the contemners of his authority, and adversaries of the  
‘ church. And as for his good people’s lawful recrea-  
‘ tion, his pleasure likewise is, that, after the end of  
‘ divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted,  
‘ or discouraged from any lawful recreation ; such as  
‘ dancing, either men or women ; archery for men,  
‘ leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recrea-  
‘ tions ; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales,  
‘ and

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

49

that he had been almost choaked with a pair of lawn sleeves. This declaration, we are assured

and Morice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal his majesty doth hereby account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon *Sundays* only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.

And likewise bars from this benefit and liberty, all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service; being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. His pleasure likewise is, that they, to whom it belongeth in office, shall present and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this his liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day. And he doth likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service: prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used, in the same times of recreation. And his pleasure is, that this his declaration shall be published, by order from the bishop of the diocese, through all the parish-churches; and that both the judges of the circuits, and the justices of the peace, be informed thereof.

Given at the manor of *Greenwich* the 24th day of *May*, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign, of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the one and fiftieth.

E

Now

assured by *Whitlock*, gave great distaste not only to those who were usually termed puritans,

‘ Now out of a like pious care for the service of God,  
 ‘ and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth,  
 ‘ and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well-  
 ‘ deserving people, his majesty doth ratify and publish  
 ‘ this his blessed father’s declaration; the rather, because  
 ‘ of late, in some counties of this kingdom, his majesty  
 ‘ finds that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there  
 ‘ hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary  
 ‘ meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the  
 ‘ churches, commonly called Wakes. Now his ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s express will and pleasure is, that these feasts,  
 ‘ with others, shall be observed; and that his justices of  
 ‘ the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it,  
 ‘ both that all disorders there may be prevented or  
 ‘ punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom,  
 ‘ with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And his  
 ‘ majesty further commands all justices of assize, in their  
 ‘ several circuits, to see, that no man do trouble or mo-  
 ‘ lest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their  
 ‘ lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God,  
 ‘ and continuing in obedience to his majesty’s laws.  
 ‘ And for this his majesty commands all his judges,  
 ‘ justices of peace, as well within liberties as without,  
 ‘ majors, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to take  
 ‘ notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his dis-  
 ‘ pleasure. And doth further will, that publication of  
 ‘ this his command be made, by order from the bishops,  
 ‘ through all the parish-churches of their several dio-  
 ‘ ceses respectively.

‘ Given at the palace of *Westminster*, the 18th day of  
 ‘ *October*, in the ninth year of his reign.

‘ God save the King (q).’

This is the declaration for sports on the Sabbath-day,  
 so often mentioned by writers; which I chose to give at  
 length, that the reader might the better be able to judge  
 of

(q) *Rushw.*  
 collections,  
 part 2d,  
 vol. i. fol.  
 p. 191-196.  
*London*. 1680.  
*Franklin’s*  
*annals*, p.  
 437, fol.  
*London*. 1681.  
*Heylin’s life*  
*of Laud*, p.  
 255-258.  
 fol. *London*,  
 1668.

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

31

tans, but to many others; and, as we shall hereafter see, produced ill effects.

But

of it.—For my own part, I shall content myself with observing, that, however the question concerning the morality of the Sabbath (for by that name it generally went in the times of which we are writing) be determined, the public licence and encouragement of diversions, after divine service, was a thing of ill report, destructive to the morals of the common people, opposite to a statute made in this reign, and yet in force (*r*), of a tendency to efface any good impressions received in the worship of God, and seemingly inconsistent with the answer or prayer subjoined to the fourth commandment in the Common-prayer-book, ‘ Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law ! ’ and consequently must leave an ill impression on the minds of men, with respect to his majesty’s regard to religion and morality; more especially, when it is known that he himself made use of the liberty he gave to his subjects. For it must not be concealed, that *Charles* scrupled not giving a mask on a *Sunday*, as we are informed in a letter from the reverend Mr. *Gerrard* to the lord-deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London*, Feb. 7, 1637. ‘ The *French* and *Spanish* ambassadors, says he, were both at the king’s mask, but not received as ambassadors. The *French* sat amongst the ladies, the *Spanish* in a box. It was performed on a *Sunday*-night, the day after the Twelfth-night, in very cold weather, so that the house was not filled according to expectation. The act of council to drive all men into the country, the coldness of the weather, the day *Sunday*, and the illness of the invention of the scenes, were given for causes, why so small a company came to see it. My lord-treasurer [bishop *Juxton*] was there by command (*s*).’—But to go on.—It certainly is a very odd way to express a pious care for the service of God, by encouraging Morrice-dances, May-games, and May-poles, on the day set apart for his worship; and men could not easily bring themselves to believe that the practice of virtue could be much promoted by

(*r*) 1 *Caroli*,  
c. 1.

(*s*) *Straford*’s letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 143.

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

But though, from this declaration, one would have imagined king *Charles* not subject to the weaknesses of those against whom it was chiefly pointed; yet nothing can be more certain, than that (P) he fell into superstition, the vice of weak minds; which occasioned

the mixt dancing of men and women, and their association at Wakes and Whitson-ales. For, whatever may be thought of it, if the common people gad abroad on the *Sunday*, and spend it in idleness or diversions, a loose turn of mind will be contracted, and a great depravity of manners ensue: and, therefore, it behoves those who are in authority, to promote a regular and exemplary behaviour on the Lord's-day, whereby decency of manners will be increased, knowledge advanced, and a sense of religion (a thing of the greatest importance to societies, as well as to individuals) heightned in the minds of men. This, I say, is the duty of those in authority: If they neglect it, they are not to wonder at the wickedness and stupidity of those about them, or complain of their breach of every social duty.

(P) *He fell into superstition, the vice of weak minds.* Superstition is a debasement of reason and religion; 'tis entertaining misapprehensions of almighty God; 'tis the practice of things weak and ridiculous, in order to please him, whereby it excites in the mind chimerical hopes, ill-grounded fears, and vain expectations: in short, it is weakness, attended with uneasiness and dread, and productive of confusion and horror. Every one knows the mischiefs superstition has produced in the world: gods of all sorts and kinds; sacrifices of beasts and men; rites, ceremonies, and postures; antic tricks, and cruel torments; with every other thing which, from time to time, has been falsely called by the name of religion, have arose from hence. It took its rise early in the world, and soon spread itself over the face of the earth; and few, very few, were there who were wholly free from it. The doctrine



occasioned his making unreasonable vows, consulting the stars, and regarding omens! But this

doctrine of *Christ*, indeed, was calculated to destroy its dominion, and to restore religion to its original lustre, by teaching men to think honourably of the Deity, to practise virtue, to submit chearfully to the Divine Will, and expect happiness from his hands in consequence thereof. Very little stress is laid on externals by the writers of the New Testament. 'Tis sobriety and righteousness, 'tis the love of God and men, 'tis meekness and humility, and every thing lovely and praise-worthy, which are insisted on in, and recommended by it: but as for pomp, and parade and shew, these were not thought worthy of notice, or deemed mischievous and hurtful. Yet, notwithstanding this, superstition very soon found an entrance among Christians, and at length increased to an enormous size. The reformation of religion, and the revival of letters, were somewhat unfriendly to it: but whether it be the craft of those who subsist by the ignorance and credulity of others, or whether it be a proneness in men to superstition, or their laziness and inattention to other than sensible objects; I say, whether it be owing to one or all of these causes, superstition remained still alive, and shewed itself even among those who gloried that they had got rid of the papal yoke. I doubt not, *Charles* would have been affronted, had any one told him he was superstitious, especially when in the height of his power; and, I believe, it would not have been very safe for any one to have attempted to prove it: however, what would have then been imprudent, may now be safe; and therefore, at the distance of more than an hundred years, I think I may hazard the charging it on him. But it is not expected my word alone should be taken: let the reader hear the evidence, and then judge impartially. His majesty in a letter to the queen, dated Jan. 14, 1644-5, has the following paragraph.

' I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, ' *Digby's* dispatch, which I have seen, being so full, that ' I can add nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase on that

this was but a trifle, compared with his obstinate attachment to his own opinions, in what

‘ which he calls his superstitious observation. It is this :  
 ‘ nothing can be more evident, than that *Strafford's* innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of  
 ‘ God’s just judgments upon this nation, by a furious  
 ‘ civil war ; both sides hitherto being almost equally  
 ‘ punished, as being in a manner equally guilty : but  
 ‘ now this last crying blood [*Laud's*] being totally theirs,  
 ‘ I believe it no presumption hereafter to hope, that his  
 ‘ hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter  
 ‘ upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed  
 ‘ by our faults (t).’

(t) The king's cabinet opened, p. 24.

Dr. *Perinchief* assures us, ‘ That after the army had forced him from *Holmby*, and in their several removes had brought him to *Latmas*, an house of the earl of *Devonshire*, on *August 1*, being *Sunday* in the morning, before sermon, he led forth with him, into the garden, the reverend Dr. *Sheldon*, (who then attended on him, and whom he was pleased to use as his confessor) and drawing out of his pocket a paper, commanded him to read it, transcribe it, and so to deliver it to him again. This paper contained several vows, which he had obliged his soul unto, for the glory of his Maker, the advance of true piety, and the emolument of the church. And among them this was one ; that he would do publick penance for the injustice he had suffered to be done to the earl of *Strafford*, his consent to those injuries that were done to the church of *England*, (though at that time he had yielded to no more than the taking away of the high commission, and the bishops power to vote in parliament) and to the church of *Scotland* : and adjured the doctor, that if ever he saw him in a condition to observe that or any of those vows, he should solicitously mind him of the obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach should lie upon his own soul (u).’

(u) *Perinchief's* life of Charles I. p. 60.

One of these vows we have remaining in his majesty's own words, as follows : ‘ I do hereby promise and solemnly

what he deemed religion, his ill thoughts of such as differed from him in it, the zeal he was

‘ solemnly vow, in the presence and for the service of  
 ‘ almighty God, that if it shall please the Divine Ma-  
 ‘ jesty, of his infinite goodness, to restore me to my just  
 ‘ kingly rights, and to re-establish me in my throne, I  
 ‘ will wholly give back to his church all those impro-  
 ‘ priations which are now held by the crown; and what  
 ‘ lands soever I do now, or should enjoy, which have  
 ‘ been taken away either from any episcopal see, or any  
 ‘ cathedral or collegiate church, from any abbey, or  
 ‘ other religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter  
 ‘ to hold them from the church, under such reasonable  
 ‘ fines and rents as shall be set down by some conscien-  
 ‘ tious persons, whom I propose to chuse, with all up-  
 ‘ rightness of heart, to direct me in this particular.  
 ‘ And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my  
 ‘ vow, and to bless me in the design I have now in hand,  
 ‘ through *Jesus Christ* our Lord. Amen.

CHARLES R.

*Oxford, Ap. 13, 1646.*

‘ This is a true copy of the king’s vow, which was  
 ‘ preserved thirteen years under ground, by me

1660, *Aug. 21.*

*Gilb. Sheldon (w).’* (w) Le Neve’s lives of the archbishops, &c. p. 178, 8vo. Lond. 1720.

I would not chuse to make any reflections on these vows of *Charles*; but I am persuaded; the sensible reader will not be displeased with the following observations on vows in general. In my own opinion, they are very just.—

‘ I remember a saying of some of the *Jewish* doctors,  
 ‘ that vows, for the most part, come from some evil  
 ‘ principle; and therefore they advise those who consult  
 ‘ the quiet of their minds, to be very cautious in making  
 ‘ them, because they are most times only snares to them;  
 ‘ and it very often appears, that those who are of the  
 ‘ most unfit tempers to make vows, are the most ready  
 ‘ to do it. For those who are apt to be transported with  
 ‘ passion, or are sensible of the instability of their own

was actuated with against them, and the hard-

temper, think to give stronger checks to themselves by entering into solemn vows; from whence they vow that frequently, in a heat of zeal or passion, which, upon farther consideration, they may see cause to repent (x).—But to return to our subject.

(x) Stillingfleet's miscellaneous discourses, p. 12, 8vo. Lond. 1733.

The following transaction, related by Dr. *Welwood*, may possibly have somewhat of the same weakness in it; though I produce it not as a proof of *Charles's* superstition, but for the entertainment of the reader.

The king being at *Oxford*, during the civil wars, went one day to see the public library, where he was shewed, among other books, a *Virgil*, nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The lord *Faulkland*, to divert the king, would have his majesty make his trial of his fortune by the (y) *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the king opening the book, the period which happened to come up was that of *Dido's* imprecation against *Æneas*, which Mr. *Dryden* translates thus:

(y) See concerning these Gataker on Iots, p. 340, 4to. Lond. 1627.

Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes,  
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose;  
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,  
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd;  
Let him for succour sue from place to place,  
Torn from his subjects and his sons embrace!  
First let him see his friends in battle slain,  
And their untimely fate lament in vain;  
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,  
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.  
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,  
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,  
And lie unbury'd on the barren sand.

*Æneid* iv. l. 88.

It is said king *Charles* seemed concerned at this accident; and that the lord *Faulkland* observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner, hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have

no

hardships he suffered to be inflicted on them;  
his

‘ no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king’s  
‘ thoughts from any impression the other might have  
‘ upon him. But the place that *Faulkland* stumbled  
‘ upon, was yet more suited to his destiny than the other  
‘ had been to the king’s, being the following expressions  
‘ of *Evander*, upon the untimely death of his son *Pallas*,  
‘ as they are translated by the same hand.

‘ O *Pallas* ! thou hast fail’d thy plighted word,  
‘ To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword :  
‘ I warn’d thee, but in vain ; for well I knew  
‘ What perils youthful ardour would pursue :  
‘ That boiling blood would carry thee too far ;  
‘ Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war !  
‘ O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,  
‘ Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come (x) !’

*Æneid* xi. l. 230.

(x) Wel-  
wood’s me-  
moirs, p. 64,  
12mo. Glas-  
gow, 1749.

But though his majesty had such ill fortune read to him from *Virgil*, he was still inquisitive into futurity, and desirous of direction from the stars. When he was at *Hampton-court*, in 1647, he meditated an escape from the soldiery ; and madam *Whorewood*, by his consent, came to receive my judgment, (says *Lilly*) viz. ‘ in what  
‘ quarter of this nation he might be most safe, and not  
‘ be discovered until himself pleased. After erection of  
‘ my figure, I told her, about twenty miles (or there-  
‘ abouts) from *London*, and in *Essex*, I was certain he  
‘ might continue undiscovered.’ And at another time, about *September*, the parliament sent their commissioners with propositions to him into the isle of *Wight*. Whereupon the lady *Whorewood* came again unto *Lilly* from the king, or by his consent, to be directed. ‘ After the  
‘ perusal of my figure, adds he, I told her the commis-  
‘ sioners would be there such a day : I elected a day and  
‘ hour when to receive the commissioners and proposi-  
‘ tions ; and as soon as the propositions were read, to  
‘ sign them, and make haste with all speed to come up  
‘ with the commissioners to *London*. The army being  
‘ then

his superstition was but a trifle, I say, when  
com-

(a) Lilly's history of his life and times, p. 60, 62.

‘ then far distant from *London*, and the city enraged stoutly against them, he promised he would so do (a).’  
—I will add but one or two proofs more. ‘ The king’s deportment [at his trial] says *Warwick*, was very majestic and stedd; and yet, as he confest himself to the bishop of *London* [*Juxon*] that attended him, one action shocked him very much: for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden. He took it up, but seemed unconcerned; yet told the bishop, it really made a great impression upon him; and to this hour, says he,

(b) *Warwick's memoirs*, p. 339.

‘ I know not how it should possibly come (b).’  
And Dr. *Perinchief* tells us, ‘ that while the king was at *Oxford*, and the earl of *Southampton*, as gentleman of the bedchamber, lay one night in the same chamber with him, the wax-mortar, which, according to custom, the king always had in his chamber, was in the night, as they both conceived and took notice of, fully extinguished. But my lord rising in the morning found it lighted, and said to the king, Sir, this mortar now burns very clearly: at which they both exceedingly wondered, as fully concluding it had been out in the night; and they could not imagine how any of the grooms, or any other, could possibly light it, the door being locked with a spring within. This busying the wonder of both for the present, the king afterwards, when he saw the malice of his enemies press hard upon his life and ruin, reflecting upon this occurrence, drew it into this presage, that though God would permit his light to be extinguished for a time, yet he would at last light it again (c).’

(c) Life of Charles I. p. 72. See also Wood's Fasti, c. 84.

Mr. *Aubrey*, on the authority of *Fabian Philips*, relates that *Charles*, after he was condemned, told col. *Tomlinson*, ‘ that he believed the *English* monarchy was now at an end: about half an hour after, he told the colonel, that now he had an assurance, by a strong impulse on his spirit, that his son should reign after him (d).’

(d) *Miscellanies*, p. 89, 8vo. Lond. 1696.

These are the facts on which I found the assertion of the

compared with (Q) his bigotry, which was most excessive. We are not therefore to wonder

the superstition of this monarch; a superstition which was attended with a bigotry remarkable, as we shall soon see.

(Q) *His bigotry was most excessive.*] Charles had religious prejudices deeply implanted in him, which were heightened greatly by the superstition of his temper, the influence of ecclesiastics, and political considerations. He viewed those who differed from him, in the important points of ceremonies and church-government, as weak and mean, as dangerous and odious, and worthy his utmost zeal to reclaim or punish; for superstition is generally attended with bigotry, and bigotry is the bane of charity and benevolence. For the bigot is inspired with fervent zeal; he views himself as employed in God's work, and intitled to his favour and protection, and consequently that the more he labours in it, the greater will his reward be. Whence it comes to pass, that no considerations will stop the hands of such a one; but he will sacrifice every sentiment of humanity, regard to his country, and even his own ease and peace, in order to make men renounce their own sentiments, profess a belief of like sound, and practise rites of the same sort: nor will he be easy himself, or let others have any quiet, if he cannot accomplish it.—Whether *Charles* was of this character, will be best of all judged from the following authorities.—‘The king was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the church, as believing, in his soul, the church of *England* to be instituted the nearest to the practice of the apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of the christian religion, of any church in the world. And, on the other side, he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects, who were against the government established; and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them  
‘ from

wonder at his attention to little things, his  
busy-

‘ from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find, or make, to withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection: and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that temper and disposition to be watched and provided against in *England*; and, if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy (e).’

(e) Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81.

‘ When he was pressed by the parliament ministers to give way for a small catechism for children, I will not, says he, take upon me to determine all these texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true sense given them; and I assure you, gentlemen, I would license a catechism, at a venture, sooner for men than I would for children, because they can judge for themselves: and I make a great conscience to permit, that children should be corrupted in their first principles.— I remember, says the same author, one evening his majesty told me, that he should be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it: but (he replied) tho’ they cannot relieve me in the time I demanded it, let them relieve me when they can; else I will hold it out, till I make some stone in this building my tombstone; and so will I do, says he, by the church of *England* (f).’—And as for the divines or chaplains, who attended on the commissioners from the parliament to the king, when at *Holmby-house*, we are told, ‘ that the king used them civilly, and conversed with them friendly as private men; but would not let them so much as say grace to him, since they refused to officiate to him by the Liturgy (g).’

(f) Warwick’s memoirs, p. 327.

(g) Idem, p. 297, and Wood’s *Athenae Oxoniensis*, vol. ii. c. 688.

The same spirit he retained to the last, according to the author I have so frequently cited in this note. After his condemnation, some ministers, who had adhered to the parliament, came to offer their service to pray with him. His majesty being informed of it by Dr. *Juxon*, replied, ‘ Thank them from me for the tender of themselves; but tell them plainly, that they that have so often



busying himself about them, and employing him-

‘ often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never  
‘ pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please,  
‘ (and I’ll thank them for it) pray for me.’

This answer is related by Mr. *Herbert* in a softer as well as a different manner. ‘ At this time, (*Jan. 30*)  
‘ says he, came to St. James’s *Ed. Calamy, Rich. Vines,*  
‘ *Jos. Caryl, Will. Dell,* and some other *London* ministers,  
‘ who presented their duty to the king, with their humble  
‘ desires to pray with him, and perform other offices of  
‘ service, if his majesty would please to accept of them.  
‘ The king returned them thanks for their love to his  
‘ soul, hoping they and all other good subjects would,  
‘ in their addresses to God, be mindful of him; but in  
‘ regard he had made choice of Dr. *Juxon*, whom for  
‘ many years he had known to be a pious and learned  
‘ divine, and able to administer ghostly comfort to his  
‘ soul, suitable to his present condition, he would have  
‘ none other (*b*).’ I will conclude my authorities with (*b*) Wood’s  
a few passages from Dr. *Perinchief*.—‘ He [*Charles*] was <sup>Athenæ Oxonienses,</sup>  
‘ careful of uniformity, both because he knew the power <sup>vol. ii. c.</sup>  
‘ of just and lawful princes consisted in the union of their <sup>699, fol.</sup>  
‘ subjects, who never are cemented stronger than by an <sup>London, 1721.</sup>  
‘ unity of religion. Besides, he saw that there was no  
‘ greater impediment to a sincere piety, because that  
‘ time and those parts that might improve godliness to a  
‘ growth, were all wasted and corrupted in malice and  
‘ slanders, betwixt the dissenters, about forms. He was  
‘ more tender in preserving the truths of christianity,  
‘ than the rights of his throne.—Thus, adds this writer,  
‘ though he could not infuse spiritual graces into the  
‘ minds of his subjects, yet he would manage their rea-  
‘ son by pious arts; and what the example of a king  
‘ could not do, that his law should, and he would re-  
‘ strain those vices which he could not extirpate (*i*).’—(*i*) Life  
Here we see zeal for uniformity in rites and modes, a stiff <sup>of king</sup>  
adherence to particular forms, a settled resolution to <sup>Charles,</sup>  
maintain and impose them, arising from a belief of their <sup>p. 62.</sup>  
being most acceptable to the Deity, and conducive to  
men’s

(R) himself in works, which, though not blameable in themselves, were unworthy of the elevated rank in which he was placed.

Lord

men's salvation; and also the highest dislike and prejudice against such as were of different sentiments, and endeavours to suppress them: I say, all this we here see, and consequently the bigotry of *Charles*, which led him to allow of and encourage such severities, on the account of religious opinions, as raised in the minds of his subjects dislike and aversion, and contributed to his ruin, as in the course of this work will appear.

(R) *Employing himself in works unworthy of his elevated rank, &c.*] A king should act like himself. He should attend to those matters which relate to the welfare and happiness of his people; he should study their genius and manners, and employ his thoughts in devising ways for promoting their grandeur and felicity. Modest merit he should inquire after, arts and sciences he should encourage, useful inventions he should reward, attend to the complaints of his subjects, and readily redress their grievances. In a word, his care should be to distribute equal and impartial justice to those under his rule, and defend them from the insults and oppressions of the nations around them. This, I say, is the duty of a king; and he who would discharge it well, had need give it his time and pains. As for lesser matters, though they may be useful or ornamental in private life, 'tis not expected a prince should excel in them; much less contend with such as professedly addict themselves to them, and reap emolument from them. What in these is praiseworthy, in a king is mean; below his character, and what must render him but little respectable to those around him. But *Charles* either understood not this, or acted diametrically contrary to it. 'He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper, than in fighting a battle (k).'  
 (k) Burnet, vol. i. p. 71. 'Whensoever his secretaries had drawn up, by the direction of the council, declarations or any other papers,

Lord Clarendon (l) assures us, that he was not in his nature very bountiful, though he

(l) Vol. vi.  
p. 257.

gave

pers, and offered them to his perusal, though both they and the council had done their parts, yet he would always with his own hand correct them, both as to matter and form; he commonly using these words when he took the pen in his hand, Come, I am a good cobbler: and the corrections were acknowledged by them all to be both for the greater lustre and advantage of the writings (m). Agreeably hereunto sir Philip Warwick writes. 'Though he was of as slow a pen as of speech, yet both were very significant: and he had that modest esteem of his own parts, that he would usually say, He would willingly make his own dispatches, but that he found it better to be a cobbler than a shoemaker. I have been in company with very learned men, when I have brought them their own papers back from him with his alterations, who ever confessed his amendments to have been very material. And I once, by his commandment, brought him a paper of my own to read, to see whether it was suitable to his directions, and he disallowed it slightly: I desired him I might call Dr. Sanderfon to aid me, and that the doctor might understand his own meaning from himself; and with his majesty's leave I brought him, whilst he was walking and taking the air; whereupon we two went back; but pleased him as little, when we returned it: for smilingly he said, a man might have as good ware out of a chandler's shop: but afterwards he set it down with his own pen very plainly, and suitably to his own intentions (n).' But it will be necessary to be more particular on this head, and therefore I shall give a short detail of the employments in which he busied himself, even sometimes when one would have thought he might have been more profitably engaged.—He took the pains, we are told, to epitomize Laud's book against Fisher (o), and to translate Dr. Sanderfon's book *de Juramentis*: he writ many annotations and quotations with his own hand in the margin of his Bible,

(m) Perin-  
chief, p. 71.

(n) Memoirs,  
p. 70.

(o) Id. p. 82,  
and Dugdale's short  
view, p. 383.

gave very much. This appeared more after the duke of *Buckingham's* death, after which those

(p) Wood's  
Athenæ  
Oxon. vol.  
ii, c. 701.

Bible (p), and was at the pains of drawing instructions for his archbishops *Abbot* and *Laud*, perusing the accounts they gave of their provinces, and writing marginal notes on them, in which he discovered his bigotry, superstition, and attachment to the priesthood. 'I will have no preest have anie necessity of a lay dependencie,' says he in one of them. In a second, remarking on *Laud's* acquainting him that there were some Brownists in his diocese, and that the only remedy was to make the chief seducers be driven to abjure the kingdom, he says, 'Informe me of the particulars, and I shall command the judges to make them abjure.' I will add only a third, which was made by him upon a complaint against five ministers for not catechising: 'I desire, says he, to know the certainty of this (q).' In

(q) The  
archbishop's  
annual ac-  
counts of  
his province  
to the king,  
at the end of  
*Laud's* troubles and  
trial, by  
Wharton,  
Lond. fol.  
1695.

short, whoever would know the littleness of the mind of *Charles*, and the attention he paid to trifles, cannot do better than read his instructions about church-matters, and his remarks on the accounts he received concerning them.—But to go on.—When his majesty was at *Newcastle*, in the year 1646, he engaged in a controversy with Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, a Scotch divine, concerning the change of church-government; in which, after the manner of polemical divines, he debates strenuously against presbytery; declares his opinion that church-government is an essential; that it was of such consequence, as, by the alteration of it, we should deprive ourselves of a lawful priesthood; and then, says he, how the sacraments can be duly administered, is easy to judge (r).—

(r) King  
Charles's  
works, p. 76.

When the king was at *Holdenby*, April 23, 1647, he propounded to the parliament's commissioners the following quære, Why the new reformers discharge the keeping of *Easter*? The reason for this quære is, I conceive, the celebration of this feast was instituted by the same authority which changed the *Jewish* Sabbath-day into the Lord's-day, or *Sunday*; for it will not be found in Scripture where *Saturday* is discharged to be kept, or turned into

those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving; which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which

into the *Sunday*: wherefore it must be the church's authority that changed the one, and instituted the other. Therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this feast, may as well return to the observation of *Saturday*, and refuse the weekly *Sunday*. When any body can shew me that I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it; till when you know my mind.

C. R. (s) (s) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
91.

And at the treaty of *Newport*, Oct. 2, 1648, we find his majesty employing his pen on the same subject that he had debated before with *Henderson* at *Newcastle*. In short, *Charles* had a good deal of the disputatious temper of his father, and the same itch after the lowest of theological controversies. For how poor a thing is it for a prince to attend to the reasons which are urged for or against episcopacy by polemical divines? How weak to imagine church-government to be an essential, or that the sacraments cannot be duly administered but by the priesthood, ordained in a particular way? A man in *Charles's* situation, one would have thought, should have studied to have gained friends, to have brought over foes, to have owned and palliated past misconduct, and to have yielded in time to such concessions as might have made him great and his people happy. But to trifle away time on things below a wise man's regard, any farther than as they afford matter of diversion, in his very critical circumstances, was inexcusable weakness, and a debasement of character beyond example. 'Tis true, these were the controversies of the age: but controversies of this kind are fit only at all times for the idle, and therefore wholly unworthy of a prince when his crown was at stake, and even his very life in danger.

made his court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be.

Whether he had much sensibility of temper, may, perhaps, justly be made a question (s):

(s) *Whether he had much sensibility of temper, may, perhaps, justly be made a question.*] There are several facts recorded of *Charles*, which seem to shew him not overstocked with compassion at the misfortunes of others, or touched with their calamities. The manner in which he received the news of the murder of *Buckingham*, has, I know, been looked on as proof of his great piety and devotion; though it might, perhaps, with the same fine imagination, have been made an evidence of his want of feeling. ‘The news [*of Buckingham’s death*] soon came to court, and the king understood it whilst he was at his morning public devotion, and there he gave an evidence of his composed mind; for he expressed no passion, till the service was ended; and then he retired, and was very sensible of it (t).’ This is plainly and naturally told. Let us now see it decorated.—‘His majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when sir *John Hippeley* came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the exercise they were performing, went directly to the king, and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended; when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting, with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the loss he had of an excellent servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him: and he continued in this melancholic discomposure of mind many days (u).’ This lamenting, with much passion and abundance of tears, seems to be an embellishment of the writer; for in Mr. *Waller’s* fine poem, addressed to his majesty on this occasion, we find not a hint of it; but the whole turns on the

(t) War-  
wick, p. 34.

(u) Claren-  
don, vol. i.  
p. 30.

tion: though certain it is, he had not  
learned

the devotion of *Charles*, the unmovedness of his mind,  
and his kindness to the duke's family.

- ‘ He that with thine shall weigh good *David's* deeds,
- ‘ Shall find his passion, not his love exceeds :
- ‘ He curst the mountains where his brave friend dy'd,
- ‘ But let false *Ziba* with his heir divide :
- ‘ Where thy immortal love to thy blest friends,
- ‘ Like that of heav'n, upon their seed descends.
- ‘ Such huge extremes inhabit thy great mind,
- ‘ Godlike, unmov'd ; and yet like woman kind.’

The following passage is from *Whitlock*, of which the reader will judge.—‘ Prince *Rupert*, at *Cirencester*, took 1100 prisoners, and 3000 arms. These prisoners were led in much triumph to *Oxford*, where the king and lords looked on them, and too many smiled at their misery, being tied together with cords, almost naked, beaten, and driven along like dogs. Among them was a proper handsome man, of a very white skin, where it could be seen for the blood of his wounds : he not being able to go, was set naked upon the bare back of an horse, his wounds gaping, and his body smeared with blood ; yet he sat upright upon the horse, with an undaunted countenance, and, when near the king, a brawling woman cried out to him, Ah you traitorly rogue, you are well enough served : he, with a scornful look towards her, answered, You base whore : and instantly dropped off dead from his horse (*w*).’—‘ He was seldom, in the times of war, seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or indeed any thing else (says *Lilly*), whether by nature or custom his heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When unfortunately the parliament had lost some of their men in the West, at *Marlborough* and the *Devizes*, and they brought in a miserable condition, without hose or shoes, or scarce cloaths, into *Oxford* as a triumph, he was content to be a spectator of their calamities ; but gave neither order

(w) *Whitlock's* memorials, p. 67, fol. Lond. 1732.

(T) learned to sacrifice to the graces. Much  
has

(x) Life and  
death of K.  
Charles,  
p. 14.

der for their relief, or commands for ease of their sufferings: nay, it was noted by some there present, he rejoiced in their sad affliction (x).’ Indeed, sir *Philip Warwick* assures us, ‘that the king being informed of Mr. *Hambden*’s being wounded, would have sent him over any chirurgeon of his, if any had been wanting: for (adds he, as the motive) he looked upon his interest, if he could gain his affection, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two houses (y).’ What lord *Clarendon* there-

(y) Memoirs,  
p. 241.

fore meant by ascribing to this monarch a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing (z); what, I say, he meant by this, will not be easily known by those who consider this king’s actions.

(z) Vol. v.  
p. 256.

(T) *He had not learned to sacrifice to the graces.*] Politeness and civility, affability and good-nature, though not perhaps essentially necessary to form the character of an honest man or a good prince, yet are they undoubtedly very ornamental, and the want of them occasions many vexations. A prince should be easy of access, kind in his expressions, insinuating in his behaviour; in short, his words and actions should shew the well-bred, good-natured man. But nothing was at a farther distance from this than the behaviour of *Charles*. *Burnet* tells us, ‘he had a grave reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, and to which they had been long accustomed. Nor did he, in his outward deportment, take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever: so far from that, he had such an ungracious way of shewing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging (a).’

(a) History  
of his own  
times, p. 25.

In a letter to his queen, dated 4 May, 1645, he styles sir *Thomas Fairfax* (a man of as meek and humble carriage, says *Whitlock*, as ever I saw in great (b) employment) ‘the rebels new brutish general (c).’—It was natural enough for him to stile the parliament at *Westminster*,

(b) Memo-  
rials, p. 204.  
(c) King’s  
cabinet, p. 3.



has been said by many writers, concerning the

ster, with their adherents, rebels; (though 'tis very remarkable that he never would give the wretches, who perpetrated the *Irish* massacre, the same appellation, as we shall hereafter shew) but it was great incivility to give the lords and gentlemen who adhered to him at *Oxford*, and who had ventured their lives and fortunes in his service, the opprobrious title of 'our municipal parliament here (d);' and to represent 'some of (d) King's cabinet opened, p. 13. others too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick (e).—On the 9th of March, 1641, both houses of parliament sent a declaration to the king, who was then at *Newmarket*, part of which being 'read to him by the earl of *Holland*, his majesty interrupted him in the reading, and said, *that's false*; which being afterwards touched upon again, his majesty then said, *'tis a lye*.—And on the next day, when his majesty delivered his answer, which was read by the earl of *Holland* to the rest of the committee [of parliament]; and that being done, his lordship endeavoured to persuade his majesty to come near the parliament: whereunto his majesty answered, I would you had given me cause; but, I am sure, this declaration is not the way to it, and in all *Aristotle's* Rhetorics there is no such argument of persuasion. The earl of *Pembroke* thereupon telling him, that the parliament had humbly besought his majesty to come near them, as aforesaid, his majesty replied, that he had learnt by their declaration, that words were not sufficient. His majesty being then again moved, by the said earl of *Pembroke*, to express what he would have, said, *he would whip a boy in Westminster-school, that could not tell that by his answer*. And farther said, they were much mistaken, if they thought his answer of that a denial. And being also asked by the said earl of *Pembroke*, whether the militia might not be granted, as was desired by the parliament, for a time; his majesty swore by God, not for an hour: you have asked that of me in

the honour, probity, and good faith of this prince :

- (f) Rushworth, vol. iv, p. 532, ‘ this, was never askt of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children (f).’
- ‘ When the parliament sent commissioners to *Oxford* with propositions for peace, which were read by the earl of *Denbigh*, the king asked the committee if they had power to treat? They replying, that they had no commission to treat, but to receive his majesty’s answer in writing, the king replied, Then a letter-carrier might have done as much as you. To which the earl of *Denbigh* said, I suppose your majesty looks upon us as persons of another condition than letter-carriers. The king said again, I know your condition; but I say that your commission gives you power to do no more than a letter-carrier might have done. And so we came away from the king with a little kind of dissatisfaction (g).’
- (g) Whitlock, p. 114. The same author goes on afterwards, and tells us, ‘ that the committee who carried the propositions of peace to *Oxford*, had the king’s answer sealed up and sent to them. They, upon advice together, thought it not fit for them to receive an answer in that manner, not being acquainted with what it was, nor a copy of it (as was usual in the like cases) sent with it unto them; and upon this they desired to be excused from receiving that answer so sealed, and made an address to his majesty, that they might know what his answer was, and have a copy of it. To which his majesty replied, What is that to you, who are but to carry what I send, and if I will send the song of *Robin Hood* and *Little John*, you must carry it? To which the commissioners only said, that the business about which they came, and were to return with his majesty’s answer, was of somewhat more consequence than that song. And other passages there were, which shewed the king to be in no good-humour, and were wondered at, in a business especially of this importance, and where the disobliging the commissioners could be of no advantage to the king (h).’——‘ A word, says *Lilly*, dropped out of the king’s mouth, lost him the  
‘ love

prince : but if we impartially examine facts,  
(by

‘ love of the seamen : some being in conference with  
‘ his majesty, acquainted him, that he was lost in the  
‘ affection of the seamen ; for they intended to petition  
‘ the house. I wonder, quoth the king, how I have lost  
‘ the affection of those water-rats (i).’—I will add a (i) Lilly,  
passage or two from *Warwick*, who was informed by p. 61. *Juxon*,  
who attended on his majesty just before his  
death. ‘ We will not talk, said the king to him, of these  
‘ rogues (for that was his term) in whose hands I am :  
‘ they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and  
‘ God’s will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive  
‘ them, and I will talk of them no more. However,  
‘ the next day, which was the day of his execution,  
‘ when he had received the eucharist, he rose up from  
‘ his knees, with a chearful and steddly countenance :  
‘ Now, says he, let the rogues come ; I have heartily  
‘ forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to under-  
‘ go (k).’

(k) *Memoirs*,

I will add a passage or two more on this head.—Lord p. 343. *Clarendon*, speaking of the conclusion of *Charles*’s first  
expedition against the *Scots*, observes, ‘ that he had not  
‘ dismissed his army with so obliging circumstances as  
‘ was like to incline them to come willingly together  
‘ again, if there were occasion to use their service. The  
‘ earl of *Essex*, who had merited very well throughout  
‘ the whole affair, and had never made a false step in  
‘ action or counsel, was discharged in the crowd, with-  
‘ out ordinary ceremony ; and an accident happening at  
‘ the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the  
‘ lord *Aston*, whereby the command of the forest of  
‘ *Needwood* fell into the king’s disposal, which lay at  
‘ the door of that earl’s estate, and would infinitely have  
‘ gratified him, was denied to him, and bestowed upon  
‘ another (l).’

(l) *Vol. I.*

What follows is contained in a letter written by *Robert* p. 124.  
lord *Spencer*, who died in the royal cause, to his lady,  
just before the siege of *Gloucester*. ‘ I never saw the  
‘ king look better : he is very chearful, and, by the  
‘ bawdy

(by which alone his character can be ascertained) we shall, perhaps, find good reason to doubt of his truth and sincerity (v).

For

(m) Sidney's  
papers, vol.  
ii. p. 668.

‘ bawdy discourse, I thought I had been in the drawing-room (m).’

I think these passages abundantly sufficient to justify the assertion in the text, that his majesty had not learned to sacrifice to the graces; and consequently, that he was wanting in what would have been not only ornamental, but useful. For the love and good-will of the subjects are essentially necessary to the glory and happiness of a prince: now these are hardly any ways so easily attained, as by a humane and courteous behaviour, which it behoves all to cultivate, in proportion to the rank they bear in life. Men, for the most part, understand words; their pride is flattered by the condescension of their superiors, which seldom fails of attaching them to the interest of those who know how to work on it. Whereas a haughty behaviour, a reserved manner, an ungracious answer, will create aversion in the minds of the bystanders, as well as in those persons who are immediately concerned, and render them cool at least to their interest, if not enemies to their persons. For those who think themselves above all, will be neglected in time by all; nor will they ever be regarded any farther than men find it for their interest to submit to, or assist them.

(v) *If we examine facts, we shall find much reason to doubt of his truth and sincerity.*] Truth is the bond of society, productive of many good consequences, and at all times admired and applauded by those who chuse not, on occasion, to adhere to it. Princes, above all men, should pay an inviolable regard to it, as highly glorious and salutary: but fraud, dissimulation, and deceit, should be avoided by them, because these sully their characters, and render them vile, odious, and terrible. If honour and virtue were to be banished the world, said *Charles the Wise*, they ought to find an asylum with princes. And even *Machiave* owns, ‘ that though it be not necessary  
‘ that

For certain it is, he asserted what was false,  
with regard to the transactions in *Spain*;  
was

‘ that a prince should have all the good qualities, (among  
‘ which sincerity is reckoned by him) yet it is extremely  
‘ requisite that he should appear to have them.’ This is  
speaking much in their praise. But he adds, ‘ I will  
‘ venture to affirm, that his having them, and putting  
‘ them in practice, would be to his prejudice; whereas  
‘ the putting on the appearance of them, must be for his  
‘ interest. Let him seem, and let him actually be, mer-  
‘ ciful, true to his word, humane, religious, and sincere ;  
‘ but at the same time let him have so much command  
‘ of himself, that, if occasion requires, he may be quite  
‘ the reverse (n).’ And the prince, of whom we are (n) Machia-  
now writing, being advised, in a certain case, to detain a vel’s prince,  
nobleman whom he had called to court, said, ‘ He be- c. 18.  
‘ hoved to be a king of his word (o).’ Whether and (o) Guthry’s  
how far he did as it behoved him to do, is now our busi- memoirs, 1  
ness to enquire.—When the *Spanish* match was broken P. 31.  
off by means of *Buckingham*, and he had determined to  
sate his revenge, by causing war against that people to  
be made, it was thought fit that the whole affair con-  
cerning the said match and the Palatinate, and the beha-  
viour of the *Spanish* court to the prince, should be stated  
and enlarged upon, in a conference between the two  
houses, which his highness and the duke were desired to  
manage. At the conference, the prince made a short  
introduction to the business, and said some very kind  
things of the duke, and then referred the whole relation  
to him. Whereupon *Buckingham* made a long narration  
full of falsehoods, and for which, lord *Clarendon* observes,  
‘ he had not the least direction from the king, and a great  
‘ part whereof he knew to be untrue (p).’—But yet, (p) Claren-  
notwithstanding the falsehoods contained in *Buckingham*’s don, vol. i.  
narration, the prince, who was present at it, and assisted P. 22.  
him in it, and certified many particulars thereof, attested  
the truth of it on the spot ; ‘ and on its being reported  
‘ the same day to the house, his highness approved there-  
‘ of there also:’ as did his father soon after, though  
against

was worse than his word in a great variety  
of

(q) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 119, 125, 126, 127. against his own belief, or rather knowledge (q).—The share *Charles* had in this affair, tends little to his honour. Mr. *Hume*, speaking of it, says, ‘ This [*Buckingham*’s] narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the solemnity of that assembly to which it was delivered, deserves no better name than that of an infamous imposture, was yet vouched for truth by the prince of *Wales*, who was present; and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament, that it was by his order *Buckingham* laid the whole before them. The conduct of these princes it is difficult to excuse. ’Tis in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of *Charles*; unless his inexperience and youth, as is probable, really led him into an error, and made him swallow all the gross falsities of *Buckingham*. And, though the king was here hurried from his own measures by the furious impetuosity of others, nothing should have induced him to prostitute his character, and vouch the impostures of his favourite, of which he had so good reason to entertain a suspicion (r).’—And does Mr. *Hume* really think it probable that *Charles*’s youth and inexperience led him into an error, and made him swallow all the gross falsities of *Buckingham*? This, indeed, is vindicating his honesty at the expence of his understanding; but at the same time is such a way of vindicating it, as very few will approve. *Buckingham* was not wise enough to over-reach *Charles*, had he been disposed to do it: he could not impose on his father (a much weaker man) in this matter, much less on the prince, who had been upon the spot with him in *Spain*, and an eye-witness of the things transacted there. He was, indeed, but in his three and twentieth year; but at the age of twenty-two, or under, a man of tolerable understanding was surely capable of observing matters of fact, and relating them truly: and consequently *Charles* could not, through youth and inexperience, swallow the gross falsities of *Buckingham*; but must have been a partner in his infamous imposture.—*Charles*,

(r) *Hume*’s history of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 103, 4to. Edinb. 1754.

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
of instances, and those of no small importance ;

75

*Charles*, on the death of his father, having mounted the throne, gave farther proofs of his want of sincerity, and continued so to do thro' the course of his unfortunate reign. *Williams*, lord-keeper of the great seal, having some how or other offended *Buckingham*, it was determined he should no longer abide in that high office. This the keeper had notice of by the lord *Conway*, secretary of state, who, at the lord-keeper's desire, asked his majesty his permission for his waiting on him. This request being granted, *Williams* was admitted into the presence, and made his petitions. For the most part, they were granted, and he retired exceedingly well contented. He thought he had obtained much ; but missed all he had fought for, excepting four advowsons to *St. John's* college in *Cambridge*, (two of which he had bought with his own money, and two the late king gave him for the good of that society) and could never receive a farthing of his pension of two thousand marks a year, which he had bought for three thousand pounds ; nor was he called again to the council-table, as was promised him by his majesty (s). This is *Williams's* own account ; and as it

(s) Abridgment of *Williams's* life, p. 143.

never was contradicted, as I know of, to this day, it certainly shews that *Charles* was not a man of his word.— But we have still stronger and more glaring proofs of his want of openness and sincerity. Mr. *Hume*, speaking of the commons claiming the execution of the penal laws against catholics in the year 1626, observes, ' that in this particular they had, no doubt, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance : but he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to consider these promises as temporary expedients, which, after the dissolution of the parliament, he was not any farther to regard (t).' And yet, as we shall presently see, probity and honour are, in the judgment of this writer, to be placed among his most shining qualities !

(t) History of Great Britain, p. 156.

In the third year of his reign, the commons taking into consideration the grievances and hardships of the subject,

tance; and contradicted his speech by his actions:

subject, and the illegal commitments by the privy council, as well as many other things, after many debates, came to several resolutions, which were inserted in the bill of Rights, and passed into a law. *Charles* was very loath to give his assent to it, and made use of a variety of artifices in order to quash it. The lords sent propositions to the commons, in which the prerogative was preserved, and power had an opportunity of oppression, under pretence of reason of state. The lord-keeper assured them, that his majesty had commanded him to let them know, that he held the statute of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes insisted on, for the subjects liberty, to be all in force; and assured them, that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons, and safety of their estates; that he would govern them according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that they should find as much security in his majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law they could make; so that, hereafter, they should have no cause to complain. This would not do: the king therefore sent them a message by Mr. secretary *Cook*, to know, whether the house will rest on his royal word, declared to them by the lord-keeper? which if they do, he assures them it shall be royally performed. But the commons adhered firmly to their resolution of having a public remedy, as there had been a public violation of the laws and the subjects liberties, and so, by their speaker, they declared to the king; who then, in no very agreeable manner, by the keeper, told them, ' he was content a bill was drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, ' and the other six statutes insisted on for the subjects ' liberties, if ye shall chuse that as the best way, but so ' as it may be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations.' One would have imagined now the bill should have met with no more delays. But the commons were again pressed, by Mr. secretary, to rely on the royal word. The king himself writ a letter to the upper house, in which he declares, ' that, without the over-  
' throw



actions: whereby such an opinion was raised  
in

‘ throw of sovereignty, he could not suffer the power of  
‘ commitment, without shewing cause, to be impeached;’  
and the lords were for adding a saving to the sovereign  
power, which was to remain intire. This produced a  
conference between the houses, who at length agreed;  
and the petition of Right, *June 2, 1628*, was read; and  
the king’s answer was thus delivered unto it: ‘ The  
‘ king willeth, that right be done according to the laws  
‘ and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put  
‘ in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause  
‘ to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to  
‘ their just rights and liberties, to the preservation  
‘ whereof, he holds himself in conscience as well obliged,  
‘ as of his prerogative.’—This answer no way satisfied

the commons, who were very sensible it would render of  
little use all that they had been doing. But the king  
sent them word, that he would not alter his answer:  
though after he was petitioned by both houses, he an-  
swered, *Soit droit comme il est désiré*; which, says *Whit-*  
*lock*, satisfied the commons, and all good men (u). We  
see here a deal of artifice, craft, dissimulation, and false-  
hood in this whole affair: and nothing of openness and  
probity. However, the petition of right being passed into  
a law, one would have expected the king should have

(u) *Whit-*  
*lock*, p. 10,  
and *Rush-*  
*worth*, vol. i.  
p. 613.

observed it; yet nothing is more certain, than that he  
not only endeavoured to evade it, but acted directly con-  
trary to it. He called in 1500 copies of the petition,  
with his answer, which had been printed; and suffered  
none to be sold that had not additions. He levied  
the subsidies of tonnage (w) and poundage, though  
not granted him by parliament; and committed several  
very eminent men to prison, by warrant of his council,  
for their speeches in the house. These things were dia-  
metrically opposite to what he had just past into a law,  
and consequently could not proceed from ignorance or  
inexperience, but from a disregard to his word and most  
solemn promises.—Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of the bill  
for taking away the bishops votes, has dropped an hint,  
which

(w) See the  
petition of  
right among  
the statutes,

in the minds of his adversaries, of his want  
of

which may shew how little *Charles's* most solemn acts were to be relied on. ‘*Male posita est lex, quæ tumultuarie posita est*, was one of those positions of *Aristotle*, which hath never since been contradicted; and was an advantage, that, being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations, which were not yet firmly and solidly formed, have brought them to a temper of being treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this argument, which was unanswerable for the rejecting that bill, was applied for the confirming it; and an opinion that the violence, and force, used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good, which was in itself null. And I doubt this logick had an influence upon other acts of no less moment (x).’ This passage did not escape the diligence of *Rapin*, who, after citing it, adds, ‘Let the reader judge after this, if we may boast of king *Charles's* sincerity, since even in passing acts of parliament, which is the most authentic and solemn promise a king of *England* can make, he gave his assent, merely in an opinion, that they were void in themselves, and consequently he was not bound by this engagement (y).’—There is a notable passage in a letter of this king to his queen, dated *Oxford*, 2 Jan. 1645. ‘As for my calling those at *London* a parliament, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, this in general; if there had been but two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is registred in the council-books, with the council’s unanimous approbation; but thou wilt find that it was my misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it (z).’

(x) *Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 430.

(y) *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 571, fol. Lond. 1733.

(z) *King's cabinet*, p. 4.

of veracity, as rendered them indisposed to  
con-

In a letter from *Algernon earl of Northumberland to Robert earl of Leicester*, dated *London, Dec. 10, 1640*, we find the following words: ‘ The king is not very  
‘ well satisfied with *Northumberland*, because he will not  
‘ perjure himself for lord lieutenant [*Strafford*] (a).’

(a) Sidney’s  
state-papers,  
vol. ii. p.  
665.

What shall I say more? The king’s character was so well established for dissimulation, and want of faith, that we find the parliament, in the remonstrance of *May 19, 1642*, publicly declaring, that ‘ although they never  
‘ desired to encourage his majesty to such replies as might  
‘ produce any contestation between him and his parliament, of which they never found better effect than  
‘ loss of time, and hindrance of the public affairs; yet  
‘ they had been far from telling him of how little value  
‘ his words would be with them, much less when they  
‘ were accompanied with actions of love and justice.  
‘ They said, he had more reason to find fault with those  
‘ wicked counsellors, who had so often bereaved him of  
‘ the honour, and his people of the fruit of so many  
‘ gracious speeches which he had made to them, such as  
‘ those in the end of the last parliament; that, on the  
‘ word of a king, and as he was a gentleman, he would  
‘ redress the grievances of his people, as well out of  
‘ parliament as in it. They asked, if the searching the  
‘ studies and chambers, yea the pockets of some, both  
‘ of the nobility and commons, the very next day; the  
‘ commitment of Mr. *Bellasis*, sir *John Hotham*, and Mr.  
‘ *Crew*; the continued oppressions by ship-money, coat  
‘ and conduct-money; with the manifold imprisonments,  
‘ and other vexations thereupon, and other ensuing violations of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, (all  
‘ which were the effects of evil counsel, and abundantly  
‘ declared in their remonstrance of the state of the  
‘ kingdom) were actions of love and justice, suitable to  
‘ such words as those? As gracious was his majesty’s  
‘ speech in the beginning of this parliament: That he  
‘ was resolved to put himself freely and clearly upon the  
‘ love and affection of his *English* subjects. They asked,  
‘ whether

confide in him, even when he seemed to be

‘ whether his causeless complaints and jealousies, the  
 ‘ unjust imputations so often cast upon his parliament,  
 ‘ his denial of their necessary defence by the ordinance  
 ‘ of the militia, his dangerous absenting himself from  
 ‘ his great council, like to produce such a mischievous  
 ‘ division in the kingdom, had not been more suitable to  
 ‘ other men’s evil counsels, than to his own words?  
 ‘ Neither, they said, had his latter speeches been better  
 ‘ used, and preserved by those evil and wicked counsel-  
 ‘ lers: could any words be fuller of love and justice,  
 ‘ than those in his answer to the message sent to the  
 ‘ house of commons, in the 31st. of *Decemb.* 1641. We  
 ‘ do engage unto you solemnly, by the word of a king,  
 ‘ that the security of all, and every one of you from vio-  
 ‘ lence, is, and ever shall be, as much our care, as the  
 ‘ preservation of us and our children? And could any  
 ‘ actions be fuller of injustice and violence, than that of  
 ‘ the attorney-general, in falsely accusing the six members  
 ‘ of parliament, and the other proceedings thereupon,  
 ‘ within three or four days after that message? For the  
 ‘ full view whereof, they desired the declaration made  
 ‘ of those proceedings might be perused.’—In another  
 part of the same remonstrance we have the following  
 words. ‘ And whether there were cause of his majesty’s  
 ‘ great indignation, for being reproached to have intended  
 ‘ force or threatening to the parliament, they desired them  
 ‘ to consider who should read their declaration, in which  
 ‘ there was no word tending to any such reproach; and  
 ‘ certainly, they said, they had been more tender of his  
 ‘ majesty’s honour in that point, than he, whosoever he  
 ‘ was, that did write that declaration; where, in his  
 ‘ majesty’s name, he did call God to witness, he never  
 ‘ had any such thought, or knew of any such resolution  
 ‘ of bringing up the army; which truly, they said,  
 ‘ would seem strange to those who should read the depo-  
 ‘ sition of Mr. *Goring*, the information of Mr. *Peirce*,  
 ‘ and divers other examinations of Mr. *Wilmot*, Mr.  
 ‘ *Pollard*, and others; the other examination of capt.  
 ‘ *Leg*,

be most sincere. This was of infinite prejudice

‘ *Leg*, sir *Jacob Ashley*, and sir *John Conyers*; and consider the condition and nature of the petition, which was sent unto sir *Jacob Ashley*, under the approbation of *C. R.* which his majesty had now acknowledged to be his own hand; and being full of scandal to the parliament, might have proved dangerous to the whole kingdom, if the army should have interposed betwixt the king and them, as was desired (b).’—I produce not these passages to prove the truth of the facts referred to in this remonstrance; but merely to shew what opinion the authors of it, the lords and commons, had of his majesty’s sincerity. Let me add, that the insincerity of *Charles* was one probable reason of the loss of his life. It appears, from a paper of major *Huntingdon*’s, that the king and army were at one time on very good terms, in-somuch that his majesty ‘bid the major tell commissary-general *Ireton*, with whom he had formerly treated upon the proposals, that he would wholly throw himself upon us [the army], and trust us for a settlement of the kingdom, as we had promised; saying, if we proved honest men, we should without question make the kingdom happy, and save much shedding of blood. This message, adds he, from his majesty I delivered to commissary-general *Ireton* at *Colebrooke*, who seemed to receive it with joy, saying, that we should be the veriest knaves that ever lived; if in every thing we made not good whatever we had promised, because the king by not declaring against us, had given us great advantage against our adversaries [the presbyterians] (c).’ But the inclinations of the chief officers of the army soon changed, and they determined, in the place of the crown to which they had promised to restore him, to bring him to the scaffold, which they put in execution. This sudden change is said to have been owing to the interception of a letter by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, whilst they were in treaty with his majesty. The letter was from the king to the queen, in which he told her, ‘that he was courted by both factions, the *Scotch* presbyterians,

(b) *Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 547.

(c) *Thurloe’s State-papers*, vol. i. p. 96, fol. Lond. 1742.

judice to him, and was one great cause of  
his

(d) See  
Hume's  
history of  
Great Bri-  
tain, p. 444,  
in the note.

'rians, and the army; and that those which bade the  
'fairest for him, should have him; but yet he thought  
'he should close with the *Scotch* sooner than with the  
'other. Upon this, finding they were not like to have  
'good terms from the king, they from that time vowed  
'his destruction-(d).'—After what has been so largely  
said in this note, I will leave the reader to make his own  
remarks on the following passage in Mr. *Hume*. 'Some  
'historians have rashly questioned his [*Charles's*] good  
'faith: but, for this reproach, the most malignant  
'scrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumstance,  
'is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable  
'foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the ex-  
'treme difficulties to which he was so frequently re-  
'duced, and compare the sincerity of his professions and  
'declarations, we shall avow, that probity and honour  
'ought justly to be placed among his most shining qua-  
'lities. In every treaty, those concessions, which he  
'thought in conscience he could not maintain, he never  
'could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to  
'grant. And though some violations of the petition of  
'Rights may be imputed to him, these are more to be  
'ascribed to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which  
'he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of  
'his principles (e).'

(e) Idem,  
p. 469.

In the beginning of the note I have quoted *Machiavel*;  
I will now add another passage from him. 'It has ap-  
'peared by experience in our times, says he, that those  
'princes who made light of their word, and artfully de-  
'ceived mankind, have all along done great things, and  
'have at length got the better of such as proceeded upon  
'honourable principles.' But however it was in his  
times, it was not so with regard to *Charles*. His making  
light of his word, and artfully deceiving his subjects,  
produced to him innumerable woes. His character, in  
this respect, being once established, his adversaries gave  
no heed to his words, protestations, oaths, or actions, as  
judging that he was not to be bound by them. Hence  
a civil

his ruin! In his early youth he was observed

a civil war arose, which ended in his destruction. Princes therefore should at all times act with honour, and scorn to be worse than their words; for let them dissemble ever so dextrously, there are those who will find them out, and expose them, and then adieu to their reputation and influence.—‘ The extreme curiosity of the public is well known; it is a being that sees every thing, hears every thing, and divulges whatsoever it has heard or seen. If its curiosity examines the conduct of particular men, ’tis only to fill up idle hours; but if it considers the characters of princes, ’tis with an eye to its own interest. And, indeed, princes are more exposed than all other men to the conjectures, comments, and judgments of the world: they are a sort of stars, at which a whole people of astronomers are continually levelling their telescopes and cross-staves; courtiers, who are near them, are daily taking their observations; a single gesture, a single glance of the eye, discovers them; and the people, who observe them at a greater distance, magnify them by conjectures. In short, as well may the sun hide his spots, as great princes their vices, and their genuine character, from the eyes of so many curious observers. If the mask of dissimulation should cover, for a time, the natural deformity of a prince, yet he could never keep his mask always on: he would sometimes be obliged, was it only for a breathing, to throw it off; and one view of his naked features would be sufficient to content the curious. It will therefore be in vain for dissimulation to dwell in the mouths of princes; craftiness in their discourses and actions will have no effect: to judge of men by their words and professions, would be the way to be always mistaken: we therefore compare their actions with one another, and then with their words; and against this repeated examination, falsity and deceit will find no refuge. No man can well act any part but his own; he must really have the same character which he would bear in the world: without this, the man who thinks

observed to be very obstinate (w); and stiff  
he

- (f) Anti-Machiavel, p. 192, 8vo. Lond. 1741. See also Gordon's discourses on Tacitus, vol. iv. p. 331, 12mo. Lond. 1753. 'to impose on the public, imposes upon none but himself (f).' (w) *In his early youth he was observed to be very obstinate, &c.*] Here are my proofs.—'His childhood, says *Perinchief*, was blemished with a supposed obstinacy: for the weakness of his body inclining him to retirements, and the imperfection of his speech rendering discourse tedious and unpleasant, he was suspected to be somewhat perverse (g).'*Lilly* tells us, 'he was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by queen *Anne* his mother, and some others who were then about him: his mother being then told he was very sick and like to die, said, he would not then die, or at that time; but live to be the ruin of himself, and the occasion of the loss of his three kingdoms, by his too much wilfulness.—'The old *Scotish* lady his nurse was used to affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature, even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful and unthankful (h).'*Perinchief*, after taking notice of his supposed obstinacy, adds, 'But more age and strength fitting him for manlike exercises, and the public hopes inviting him from his privacies, he delirated the world from such fears. His tenacious humour he left with his retirements, none being more desirous of good counsel, nor any more obsequious when he found it; yea, too distrustful of his own judgment, which the issue of things proved always best when it was followed.' The reader will judge of the truth of this bye and bye.—'I have heard my father, says *Coke*, (though not a courtier, yet acquainted with many courtiers) say, that they would oft pray to God, that the prince might be in the right way where he set; for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned (i).'*I* will produce a few more proofs, to set this matter beyond all doubt. In the year 1627, 'tis well known, many gentlemen were imprisoned for refusing the loan, on account of

(g) Life of K. Charles, p. 2.

(h) Observations on the life and death of king Charles, p. 2.

(i) *Coke's* detection, vol. i. p. 211, Lond. 8vo. 1694.



he remarkably was during his whole reign :  
though

of its illegality ; among these, many feared would be sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards earl of *Strafford*. In order to bring him to a compliance with the king's measures, his brother-in-law, the lord *Clifford*, writes to him in these words : ' My dear brother, I cannot hope to see you receive the least favour, that the great ones can abridge you of, if you still refuse ; neither dare any move the king in the behalf of any gentleman refuser ; for his heart is so inflamed in this business, as he vows a perpetual remembrance, as well as present punishment. And though the duke [*Buckingham*] will be shortly gone, yet no man can expect to receive any ease by his absence, since the king takes the punishment into his own direction (k).'

In a letter to the queen, dated *Oxford*, Jan. 9, 44, after telling her that *Uxbridge* was appointed for the place of treaty between him and the parliament, he adds, in a postscript, ' The settling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on : and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands (l). And we find in *Laud's* Diary, ' that he being terrified, by reason of some speeches uttered, that there must be a parliament, some must be sacrificed, and he as like as any, he told it ; whereupon the king said, Let me desire you not to trouble yourself with any reports, till you see me forsake my other friends (m). ' In short, *Charles* was very determined in all his affairs, and was not easily moved from his resolutions by any but his favourites. Lord *Clarendon* observes, ' that he had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it ; which made him often change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself.' *Burnet* tells us, ' that he was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the queen (n). ' And we find in fact, that stiff as he was in the matter of the loan, he relinquished it by act of parliament, tho' he soon re-

(k) Letters and dispatches of Thomas earl of *Strafford*, vol. i. p. 38, folio, Lond. 1739.

(l) King's cabinet, p. 1.

(m) *Laud's* diary, by Wharton, p. 42.

(n) *Burnet*, p. 70.

though most writers agree that he was easily  
go-

(s) Clarendon, vol. v.  
p. 103.

turned to the practice of it; 'that he consented to confirm by act of parliament in *England*, presbyterian government, the directory for worship, and the assembly of divines at *Westminster* for three years (o).' And that, notwithstanding his steadiness to his friends, he gave up *Strafford* to the block. After the civil war commenced, 'many endeavours were used, from time to time, to bring matters to an accommodation by way of treaty; but still some one unlucky accident or other rendered them all abortive. At the treaty of *Uxbridge*, though the parliament's demands were high, and the king shewed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them; yet the ill posture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon breaking off of the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble person the earl of *Southampton*, who had gone post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that purpose, to press the king again and again, upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The king was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the king at supper complaining that his wine was not good, one told him merrily, he hoped his majesty would drink better before the week was over, at *Guildhall* with the lord-mayor. But so it was, that when they came early to wait upon him with the warrant, that had been agreed upon over night, they found his majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points (p).' Bishop *Burnet* gives us pretty near the same account, which he received, he says,

(p) Welwood, p. 45.

(q) Burnet, vol. i. p. 55.

from lord *Hollis* (q). I shall conclude this note with the words of Mr. *Hume*.  
'There are two circumstances in his character, seemingly

governed by his favourites, who frequently gave him counsel no way salutary to his affairs.

His understanding was far enough from being despicable (x), his enemies themselves

ingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were the chief cause of all his misfortunes: he was very steady, and even obstinate in his purpose; and he was easily governed, by reason of his facility, and of his deference to men, much inferior to himself both in morals and understanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: but the means of attaining them, he readily received from his ministers and favourites, though not always fortunate in his choice (r).'

(r) Hume's history, vol. i. p. 158.

(x) *His understanding was far enough from being despicable, &c.*] Some of the following quotations prove the truth of what is contained in the foregoing note, and will serve as a supplement to it. As they tend to illustrate the character of *Charles*, they cannot be omitted; and I doubt not the reader will be pleased with them. 'Had his judgment been as sound, as his conception was quick and nimble, says *Lilly*, he had been a most accomplished gentleman; and though in most dangerous results, and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for state or commonwealth, he would of himself give the most solid advice, and sound reasons, why such or such a thing should be so, or not so; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound advice or resolutions; and with as much facility drawn on, inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholesome a counsel. He would argue logically, and frame his arguments artificially; yet never almost had the happiness to conclude or drive on a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled by meaner capacities (s).'  
—In the Dedication to his majesty of the first part of the *History of In-*  
*dependency*, Mr. *Walker* hints his opinion of the king's

(s) *Lilly's* observation, p. 11.

selves being judges : and, if we will believe  
his

understanding, and his liableness to be drawn aside by two sorts of men, to enlarge the prerogative to his own hurt. Let us hear him in his own words. ‘ God hath  
‘ cursed him that removeth the bound-marks of his  
‘ neighbour : this is a comprehensive curse : kings, en-  
‘ larging their prerogatives beyond their limits, are not  
‘ excepted from it. You may be pleased to take heed  
‘ therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mislead  
‘ you in this point ; ambitious lawyers, who teach the  
‘ law to speak, not what the legislators meant, but what  
‘ you shall seem to desire.—The second sort is parasitical  
‘ divines : these ear-wigs are always hovering in princes  
‘ courts, hanging in their ears. They take upon them  
‘ to make princes beholding to their violent wresting of  
‘ the text, to bestow upon them whatever prerogative  
‘ the kings of *Juda* and *Israel* used or usurped ; as if the  
‘ judicials of *Moses* were appointed by God for all com-  
‘ monwealths, all kings : as a good bishoprick or living  
‘ is fit for every priest that can catch it. These men  
‘ having their best hopes of preferment from princes,  
‘ make divinity to be but *organon politicum*, an instru-  
‘ ment of government, and harden the hearts of princes,  
‘ *Pharaoh*-like : kings delight to be tickled by such vene-  
‘ rable warrantable flattery. Sir, you have more means  
‘ to prefer them than other men, therefore they apply  
‘ themselves more to you than other men do. *Tu facis*  
‘ *hunc dominum, te facit ille Deum*. The king makes the  
‘ poor priest a lord, and rather than he will be behind  
‘ with the king in courtesie, he will flatter him above the  
‘ condition of a mortal, and make him a god royal. Sir,  
‘ permit me to give you this antidote against this poyson ;  
‘ let an act be passed, that all such divines as either by  
‘ preaching, writing, or discoursing, shall advance your  
‘ prerogative and power above the known laws and  
‘ liberties of the land, forfeit all his ecclesiastical prefer-  
‘ ments *ipso facto*, and be incapable ever after, and for  
‘ ever banished your court. But above all, learn to trust  
‘ in your judgment. *Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere*  
‘ *noli* ;

his friends and admirers, he was adorned  
with

‘ *noli* : God hath enabled you to remember things past,  
‘ to observe things present, and, by comparing them to-  
‘ gether, to conjecture things to come : which are the  
‘ three parts of wisdom that will much honour and ad-  
‘ vantage you (*t*).’

Pity but princes had more frequently such honest ad-  
vice given them !—The next authority shall be that of  
Mr. *Whitlock*, which I will transcribe at large. ‘ In this  
‘ treaty [at *Oxford*, 1643] the king manifested his great  
‘ parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness  
‘ of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what  
‘ was objected against him ; wherein he allowed all free-  
‘ dom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and  
‘ give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhap-  
‘ piness was, that he had a better opinion of others judg-  
‘ ments than of his own, though they were weaker than  
‘ his own ; and of this we had experience to our great  
‘ trouble. We were often waiting on the king, and de-  
‘ bating some points of the treaty with him, until mid-  
‘ night, before we could come to a conclusion. Upon  
‘ one of the most material points we pressed his majesty  
‘ with our reasons, and best arguments we could use, to  
‘ grant what we desired. The king said he was fully  
‘ satisfied, and promised to give us his answer in writing,  
‘ according to our desire ; but, because it was then past  
‘ midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would  
‘ have it drawn up the next morning (when he com-  
‘ manded us to wait on him again), and then he would  
‘ give us his answer in writing, as it was now agreed  
‘ upon. We went to our lodgings full of joyful hopes  
‘ to receive this answer the next morning, and which  
‘ being given, would have much conduced to a happy  
‘ issue, and success of this treaty, and we had the king’s  
‘ word for it, and we waited on him the next morning  
‘ at the hour appointed. But instead of that answer,  
‘ which we expected, and were promised, the king gave  
‘ us an answer quite contrary to what was concluded  
‘ the night before, and very much tending to the breach  
of

(*t*) Walker’s  
history of  
independen-  
cy, part i.  
printed  
1648, 4to.

with very many amiable qualities, and was master of accomplishments (Y) which are esteemed in the world, and looked on as ornamental.

Every

‘ of the treaty. We did humbly expostulate this with  
 ‘ his majesty, and *pressed him upon his royal word*, and  
 ‘ the ill consequences which we feared would follow  
 ‘ upon this his new paper. But the king told us, he had  
 ‘ altered his mind, and that this paper which he now  
 ‘ gave us was his answer, which he was now resolved to  
 ‘ make upon our last debate. And we could obtain no  
 ‘ other from him, which occasioned much trouble and  
 ‘ sadness to us. Some of his own friends, of whom we  
 ‘ enquired touching this passage, informed us, that after  
 ‘ we were gone from the king, and that his council were  
 ‘ also gone away, some of his bedchamber (and they  
 ‘ went higher) hearing from him what answer he had  
 ‘ promised us, and doubting it would tend to such an  
 ‘ issue of the treaty as they did not wish, they being rather  
 ‘ for the continuance of the war, never left pressing  
 ‘ and persuading of the king, till they prevailed with him  
 ‘ to change his former resolutions, and to give order for  
 ‘ his answer to be drawn, as it was delivered to us (u).’  
 This narrative of *Whitlock’s*, whose authority is beyond  
 all exception, (though engaged on the side of the parliament,  
 and a commissioner in this and other treaties with the king  
 for it) proves not only what I principally intended it for,  
 the good understanding of *Charles*, but also his liability to be  
 drawn aside from his resolutions, by those in whom he  
 confided, as well as his disregard to his royal word, and  
 therefore may be looked on as further proof of his want of  
 sincerity, of which we have spoken pretty largely in note (u).

(u) *Whitlock*, p. 68.

(Y) *If we believe his friends, he was adorned with many  
 amiable qualities, &c.*] ‘ He was the worthiest gentle-  
 ‘ man, the best master, the best friend, the best husband,  
 ‘ the best father, and the best christian, that the age in  
 ‘ which he lived produced (w).’ And according to

(w) *Clarendon*, vol. v.  
 p. 259.

*Perin-*

## The LIFE of CHARLES I.

91

Every one knows that there goes under his name a very large folio volume, intitled

*Perinchief*, he ' was religious, just, and clement ; possessed of fortitude, patience, and humility ; a lover of his subjects, obliging in his conversation, true to his word, chaste, temperate, and frugal.' A fine picture ! pity it was not true ! But princes, even when dead, have incense offered before their shrines, and their praises high founded, if they have been the benefactors of those who attempt their characters ! Such is the force of interest ! It blinds the understanding, warps the affections, and causes even men of sense and virtue to say things, perhaps honestly, which will not bear the scrutiny.

'Tis from high life high characters are drawn ;  
A faint in crape is twice a faint in lawn ;  
A judge is just, a chanc'lor juster still ;  
A gownman learn'd ; a bishop what you will ;  
Wife if a minister ; but if a king,  
More wise, more learn'd, more just, more ev'ry thing.  
POPE.

I will not, therefore, enter into an examination of these superlative praises bestowed on *Charles* : the reader, by what he has seen, and will further see, will be enabled fully to judge of them.—As to his accomplishments, I will give them from writers who may be supposed to have known them, and who therefore are the fittest to be attended to. ' He understood *Greek, Latin,*

*French, Spanish, and Italian* authors in their original languages, which three last he spake perfectly, no man being better read in histories of all sorts, being also able

to discourse in most arts and sciences (x).—' With

any artist or good mechanick, traveller, or scholar,

he would discourse freely ; and as he was commonly

improved by them, so he often gave light to them in

their own art or knowledge. For there were few gen-

tle men in the world, that knew more of useful or neces-

sary learning than this prince : and yet his proportion

of books was but small, having, like *Francis I.* of

*France,*

(x) Dugdale's short view of the troubles in England, fol. p. 383, Oxon. 1681.

tuled BAEIAKA. The works of king *Charles*  
the

(y) War-  
wick, p. 65,  
66.

*France*, learnt more by the ear than by study.—His exercises were manly; for he rid the great horse very well; and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter or fieldman: and they were wont to say of him, that he failed not to do any of his exercises artificially, but not very gracefully; like some well-proportioned faces, which yet want a pleasant air of countenance (y).—‘He was well skilled in things of antiquity, could judge of medals whether they had the number of years they pretended unto. His libraries and cabinets were full of those things on which length of time put the value of rarities. In painting he had so excellent a fancy, that he would supply the defect of art in the workman, and suddenly draw those lines, give those airs and lights, which experience and practice had not taught the painter. He could judge of fortifications, and censure whether the cannon were mounted to execution or no. He had an excellent skill in guns, knew all that belonged to their making. The exactest arts of building ships for the most necessary uses of strength or good sailing, together with all their furniture, were not unknown to him. He understood and was pleased with the making of clocks and watches. He comprehended the art of printing. There was not any one gentleman of all the three kingdoms, that could compare with him in an universality of knowledge. He encouraged all the parts of learning, and he delighted to talk with all kinds of artists, and with so great a facility did apprehend the mysteries of their professions, that he did sometimes say, he thought he could get his living, if necessitated, by any trade he knew of, but making of hangings: although of these he understood much, and was greatly delighted in them; for he brought some of the most curious workmen from foreign parts, to make them here in *England* (z).’—I will add what Dr. *Wood* has said on this head, that the reader may want nothing to form his judgment on the accomplishments of *Charles*.

(z) Perin-  
chief, p. 70.



# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

93

the Martyr, though very little contained therein,

*Charles.* ‘He had a good taste for learning, and a more  
 ‘ than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially paint-  
 ‘ ing, sculpture, architecture, and medals; and being a  
 ‘ generous benefactor to the most celebrated masters in  
 ‘ those arts, he acquired the noblest collection of any  
 ‘ prince in his time, and more than all the kings of *Eng-*  
 ‘ *land* had done before him.—He spoke several languages  
 ‘ very well, and with a singular good grace; though now  
 ‘ and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was in-  
 ‘ clinable to stammer. He writ a tolerable hand for a  
 ‘ king; but his sense was strong, and his stile laconick,  
 ‘ and yet he seldom wrote in any language but *English*.  
 ‘ Some of his manifestoes, declarations, and other pub-  
 ‘ lic papers, he drew himself, and most of them he cor-  
 ‘ rected. In comparing those of the king with the par-  
 ‘ liament’s, one would be easily inclined to prefer, for  
 ‘ the most part, the king’s for the strength of reasoning  
 ‘ and the force of expression. I have seen several pieces  
 ‘ of his own hand, and therefore may the better affirm,  
 ‘ that, both for matter and form, they surpass those of his  
 ‘ ablest ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford*  
 ‘ or *Falkland*, the two most celebrated pens of that  
 ‘ time (a).’

(a) Wel-  
 wood, p. 499  
 51.

I will add another accomplishment of *Charles*’s, which  
 is much to his honour; I mean, his skill and knowledge  
 in the laws of the land over which he bare rule.—‘I do  
 ‘ not know, says he on his trial, the forms of law; I do  
 ‘ know law and reason, though I am no lawyer pro-  
 ‘ fessed; but I know as much law as any gentleman in  
 ‘ *England* (b).’—I will conclude my citations with *Lilly*,  
 though he cannot be placed among the friends and ad-  
 mirers of this prince. ‘To speak truly of him, he had  
 ‘ many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent  
 ‘ horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular  
 ‘ skill in limning and pictures, a good mathematician,  
 ‘ not unskilful in musick, well read in divinity, excel-  
 ‘ lently in history, and no less in the laws and statutes of  
 ‘ this nation; he had a quick and sharp conception,  
 ‘ would

(b) King  
 Charles’s  
 works, p.  
 195.

therein, came from his pen. The writings attributed to him, with any shew of justice, I (z) will mention with all impartiality, and

(c) Lilly,  
P. 3.

‘ would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and stile, only he loved long parentheses. He ‘ would apprehend a matter in difference between party ‘ and party with great readiness, and methodize a long ‘ matter, or contract it in few lines; inſomuch as I have ‘ heard ſir *Robert Holborne* oft ſay, he had a quicker conception, and would ſooner underſtand a caſe in law, ‘ or with more ſharpneſs drive a matter unto a head, ‘ than any of his privy-council; inſomuch that when ‘ the king was not at council-table, ſir *Robert* never ‘ cared to be there (c).’ I think, after all that has been here produced, we cannot but allow to *Charles* much perſonal merit. Had his integrity and uprightness, and regard to the laws of his country, by whole authority he was conſtituted ſupreme governor, been equal to many other accompliſhments and virtues wherewith he was adorned, he would have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable character: but unhappily for himſelf, unhappily for the nation, it was not ſo! By which means it came to paſs that his abilities were little admired, his capacity was unſerviceable or hurtful, and his people taught by dear experience to know, that it was poſſible for a prince with many virtues to be guilty of great acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice.

(z) *The writings attributed to him, with any ſhew of juſtice, I will mention with all impartiality.*] The folio volume that goes under the title of *King Charles's Works*, has had two impreſſions, the one in 1660, the other in 1687. It contains the life of *Charles I.* Papers concerning church-government. Prayers uſed by his majeſty. Meſſages for peace. Declarations. Letters. Speeches. The hiſtory of his trial and death. This is the firſt part. The ſecond is compoſed of his majeſty's declarations concerning his proceedings in his four firſt parliaments. Declarations and papers concerning the treaty of peace at *Oxford*.  
Decla-

and give the opinions of several writers concerning

Declarations and papers concerning the differences betwixt his majesty and his fifth parliament. A declaration concerning the cessation in *Ireland*: also declarations and passages of the parliament at *Oxford*. Papers and messages concerning the treaty of peace at *Uxbridge*. Messages, propositions, and treaties for peace: with divers resolutions and declarations thereupon. An appendix containing the papers which passed betwixt his majesty and the divines which attended the commissioners of the two houses at the treaty of *Newport*, concerning church-government. ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. The portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings.

In a passage quoted in the preceding note, Dr. *Welwood* affirms, that some of the manifestoes, declarations, and public papers, *Charles* drew himself; and if so, they are rightly placed in his works: but 'tis much more probable, according to *Warwick's* account (*d*), that he (*d*) See note only corrected them; and therefore they ought not to (*R*) have been attributed to him. What then may we certainly affirm to be his majesty's works in this collection? —If we set aside the *Icon Basilike*, of which I shall speak more at large soon, we shall be forced to acknowledge they are very inconsiderable. For they consist only of his letters to several persons, passages of which I have frequently quoted; papers concerning church-government, and a few prayers. For his speeches, I reckon them as the speeches of his ministers, though they doubtless were conformable to his own sentiments. The collection of letters were taken at *Naseby*, *June 14, 1645*,  
 ' when his majesty was compelled to quit the field, and  
 ' to leave *Fairfax* master of all his foot, cannon, and  
 ' baggage, amongst which was his own cabinet, where  
 ' his most secret papers were, and letters between the  
 ' queen and him; of which they shortly after made that  
 ' barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and  
 ' published them in print; that is, so much of them as  
 ' they thought would asperse either of their majesties,  
 ' and improve the prejudices they had raised against them,  
 ' and

cerning them. The letters contained in this volume,

(e) Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 658.

(f) King Charles's works, p. 55.

(g) Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 156, Switzerland, 1698, 8vo.

‘and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them (e).’ ‘Tis very surprising lord *Clarendon* would talk after this manner. *Charles* himself complains of no barbarity in his letter to secretary *Nicholas*, which I have elsewhere quoted: he does not pretend to say that they had published them partially, or that they concealed other parts which would have vindicated him and his queen from many particulars with which they had aspersed them: yea, he was so far from thinking the publication of them an aspersion, ‘that as a good protestant, or an honest man, he would not blush for any of those papers (f).’—But his lordship loved to asperse his enemies, and therefore would sometimes invent, in order to blacken! What further proves the charge of concealing those parts which would have vindicated their majesties, to be false, is, that those parts were never produced to the world, when his letters were reprinted among his works after the restoration, and therefore may well be supposed never to have existed.—*Ludlow*, speaking of these letters, gives a very just account of some of their contents; but adds, ‘many more letters there were relating to the public, which were printed with observations, by order of the parliament; and others of no less consequence suppressed, as I have been credibly informed, by some of those that were intrusted with them, who, since the king’s return, have been rewarded for it (g).’ This does not appear to me very probable.—Let us now hear Mr. *Hume*. ‘Among the other spoils, was seized the king’s cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect most dishonour upon him: yet, upon the whole, the letters are wrote with great delicacy and tenderness, and give a very advantageous idea both of the king’s genius and morals. A mighty fondness, and attachment, ’tis true, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace

volume, to the several persons to whom they  
are

‘ brace measures disagreeable to her. But such declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a literal sense: and so legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even though she was a papist. The *Athenians* having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, *Philip of Macedon*, to his wife *Olympia*, so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that alliance, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. *Philip* was not their sovereign, nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions (b).’ The charge of lord *Clarendon* against the editors of these letters is here passed over in silence: what was thought by friends and foes to reflect highly on *Charles*, is now said to give a very advantageous idea both of the king’s genius and morals, and an inexcusable attachment to the councils, and submission to the rule, of a violent unskilful woman, is glossed over with the title of a legitimate affection towards a woman of beauty and spirit! Surely Mr. *Hume* did not consider that these letters were in every one’s hands!—*Milton*, I believe, in the judgment of the unprejudiced, will be thought to talk not unreasonably on the publication of these letters. ‘ The king’s letters, taken at the battle of *Naseby*, being of the greatest importance to let the people see what faith there was in all his promises and solemn protestations, were transmitted to public view by special order of the parliament. They discovered his good affection to the papists and *Irish* rebels, the strict intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable peace he made with them, not solicited, but rather soliciting, which, by all invocations that were holy, he had in public abjured. They revealed his endeavours to bring in foreign forces, *Irish*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Lorrainers*, and our old invaders the *Danes*, upon us; besides his subtilties and mysterious arts in treating. To sum up all, they shewed him

(b) *Hume’s*  
history, p.  
407.

H

governed

are addressed; the quære concerning *Easter*,  
of

‘governed by a woman. All which, though suspected  
‘vehemently before, and from good grounds believed,  
‘yet by him and his adherents peremptorily denied,  
‘were by the opening of that cabinet visible to all men,  
‘under his own hand. The parliament therefore, to  
‘clear themselves of aspersing him without cause, and  
‘that the people might no longer be abused and cajoled,  
‘as they call it, by falsities and court-impudence, in  
‘matters of so high concernment, to let them know on  
‘what terms their duty stood, and the kingdom’s peace,  
‘conceived it most expedient and necessary that those  
‘letters should be made publick (i).’ These letters left

(i) Milton’s  
prose works,  
vol. i. p.  
465.

deep impressions on the minds of men in that age, as we  
may learn from the following passage of Mr. *Symmons*,  
in the address to the reader, prefixed to his large answer  
to them.—‘I was solicited by some friends from the  
‘farthest part of the kingdom to put it [his answer] to  
‘the press, now I was in a place where the same might  
‘be done; who also informed me, that (in their appre-  
‘hensions) vulgar hearts wanted satisfaction in nothing  
‘concerning the king’s integrity, but only in the matter  
‘of those letters, which did still scruple many of  
‘them (k).’ And the editor of *Ludlow’s* memoirs was  
so sensible of their importance, in order to justify the  
transactions of the opponents of *Charles*, that he reprinted  
them, with some other letters, at the end of that work:  
and they continue to make a part of the last edition of  
those memoirs, printed in folio at *London*, and the  
*Scotch* edition in three volumes in twelves; and are like-  
wise inserted in the seventh volume of the *Harleian* mis-  
cellany.

(k) Vindica-  
tion of king  
Charles, 4to.  
1648.

I had almost forgot to inform the reader, that some of  
the most important instructions contained in the genuine  
edition of the King’s Cabinet opened, published by order  
of the parliament, are omitted in the collection of his  
majesty’s works, printed after the restoration, as will be  
seen in the note (BB).

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

99

of which I have before spoken, as well as  
the

As for the papers concerning church-government, they are said to be very well drawn, and procured the king no small reputation; and, if we may believe some writers, those against Mr. *Henderson* were so very efficacious as to occasion his death.—At the king's first coming to *Newcastle*, says bishop *Kennet*, Mr. *Henderson*, a Scotch presbyter, came as an agent from the Kirk, and much importuned his majesty to pass the propositions. His majesty affirmed to him, that he could not in conscience consent to several things therein contained; especially as to the change of church-government from the primitive order of episcopacy; and condescended to have several conferences with him, and to let several papers pass between them upon this subject; which being faithfully printed, do demonstrate the king's great abilities, and his incomparable knowledge in these controversies; being at a time when he had few or no books, and could not have the assistance of any chaplain. Mr. *Henderson* returned from *Newcastle* to *Edinburgh*, with a serious conviction of his majesty's integrity and learning, and died about the end of *August*, much lamented by those of his party, who themselves suspected that his death was owing to his dissatisfaction in his late trial of skill with his majesty. The lord *Clarendon* expresses it thus. The king was so much too hard for Mr. *Henderson* in the argumentation, that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants, and died of grief and heart-broken within a very short time after he departed from his majesty (1). I will not detract any thing from the merit of *Charles's* papers at *Newcastle*; but the bishop and lord *Clarendon* were certainly a little too hasty, when they attributed such effects to them. Disputants, veteran ones, as *Henderson* was, have generally too good a conceit of their own abilities, to think themselves overcome; and tho'

(1) Complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 152, fol. Lond. 1706.

the papers concerning church-government,  
we

the awe of majesty may silence, it seldom persuades them. 'To attribute the death of this divine to the ill success of his dispute with the king, is just as wise as it was to make him the author of the declaration concerning the abilities and virtues of the same monarch, particularly his devotion, magnanimity, charity, sobriety, chastity, patience, humility (m);' which the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, held at *Edinburgh, Aug: 7, 1648*, declare to be a forgery, falsehood, and lying (n).—*Burnet's* account of these papers is greatly to the honour of *Charles*, though he was too wise to intermix any thing of the marvellous in his story.—'During the month of *June, 1646*, papers passed to and again betwixt the king and *Henderson*; of which, they being so often published, I shall say no more, but that from these it appears, had his majesty's arms been as strong as his reason was, he had been every way unconquerable, since none have the dissingenuity to deny the great advantages his majesty had in all these writings. And this was when the help of his chaplains could not be suspected, they being so far from him. And it is, indeed, strange to see a prince not only able to hold up with, but so far to out-run so great a theologue, in a controversy which had exercised his thoughts and studies for so many years. And that the king drew with his own hand all his papers, without the help of any, is averred by the person who alone was privy to the interchanging of them, that worthy and accomplished gentleman sir *Robert Murray*, who at that time was known to his majesty;—him therefore did his majesty employ in that exchange of papers, being all written with his own hand, and in much less time than Mr. *Henderson* did his. They were given by his majesty to sir *Robert Murray* to transcribe: the copies, under sir *Robert Murray's* hand, were by him delivered to Mr. *Henderson*; and Mr. *Henderson's* hand not being so legible as his, he, by the king's appointment, transcribed them for his majesty, and by his majesty's per-

mission

(m) Kennet, vol. iii. p. 174.

(n) See Truth brought to light, or the gross forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth, London, 1693, 4to.



we may safely enough attribute to his majesty;

‘ mission kept Mr. *Henderson*’s papers, and the copies of  
 ‘ the king’s, as was signified to the writer by himself, a  
 ‘ few days before his much lamented death (a).’ Sir <sup>(o) Burnet’s</sup>  
*Philip Warwick* gives his judgment on these papers very <sup>memoirs of</sup>  
 plainly. ‘ Whilst the king resided at *Newcastle*, passed <sup>the dukes of</sup>  
 ‘ that controversy between him and *Henderson* about the <sup>Hamilton,</sup>  
 ‘ order of episcopacy, and what obligation his corona- <sup>p. 277, fol.</sup>  
 ‘ tion-oath laid upon him; which papers being printed, <sup>Lond. 1677.</sup>  
 ‘ shew his great ability and knowledge, when he was  
 ‘ destitute of all aids (p).’ Thus speak these writers <sup>(p) Memoirs,</sup>  
 concerning his majesty’s controversy with *Henderson*. <sup>p. 295.</sup>  
 But whatever the real merit of his papers be, ’tis remark-  
 able they have been little read, and are seldom or ever  
 quoted on the subject of episcopacy. I have turned over  
*Stillington’s Irenicum*, and his *Unreasonableness of Separation*,  
 in which church-government is at large discussed;  
 I have looked into *Hoadley’s Defence of Episcopal Ordina-*  
*tion*, and many other volumes; but can find him  
 seldom or ever named. So that, ’tis possible, these  
 learned churchmen had not so great an opinion of the  
 arguments made use of by *Charles* in these papers, as the  
 historians I have quoted.

*Charles* is celebrated by his panegyrist for his devo-  
 tion, as we have already seen; and to convince the world  
 of the truth and reality of it, the editor of his works has  
 given us a collection of ‘ Prayers used by his majesty in  
 ‘ the time of his troubles and restraint (q).’ But this <sup>(q) King</sup>  
 title does not suit several of them. The first being ‘ a <sup>Charles’s</sup>  
 ‘ prayer used by his majesty, at his entrance in state into <sup>works, p.</sup>  
 ‘ the cathedral church of *Excester*, after the defeat of the <sup>93.</sup>  
 ‘ earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*.’ The second is stiled ‘ a  
 ‘ prayer drawn by his majesty’s special direction and  
 ‘ dictates, for a blessing on the treaty at *Uxbridge*.’ The  
 third is ‘ a prayer drawn by his majesty’s special direc-  
 ‘ tions, for a blessing on the treaty at *Newport* in the Isle  
 ‘ of *Wight*.’ A fourth is ‘ a prayer for the pardon of  
 ‘ sin.’ The fifth is ‘ a prayer and confession in and for  
 ‘ the times of affliction.’ In this there are these very  
 H 3 remark-

jeſty; for friends and foes unanimoſly agree

remarkable expreſſions. ‘Of all men living, I have  
 ‘moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do, [to confeſs his ſins]  
 ‘no man living having been ſo much obliged by thee;  
 ‘that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given me,  
 ‘adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſſions. For  
 ‘was it through ignorance that I ſuffered innocent blood  
 ‘to be ſhed, by a falſe pretended way of juſtice? or that  
 ‘I permitted a wrong way of thy worſhip to be ſet up in  
 ‘Scotland, and injured the biſhops in England? O no;  
 ‘but with ſhame and grief I confeſs, that I therein fol-  
 ‘lowed the perſuaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the  
 ‘dictates of a well-informed conſcience (r).’—But to go  
 on: the ſixth prayer is ſtiled ‘a prayer in time of cap-  
 ‘tivity;’ and the ſeventh, ‘a prayer in time of immi-  
 ‘nent danger.’—The ‘prayer in time of captivity,’ is  
 too remarkable to be ſlightly paſſed over. It was printed  
 at the end of ſome editions of *Icon Baſilike*, among other  
 prayers of *Charles’s*, and by the quick-ſighted *Milton*  
 (who was well verſed in romances) was found to be  
 taken from the prayer of *Pamela*, in ſir *Philip Sidney’s*  
*Arcadia*. Hear his words. ‘In praying therefore, and  
 ‘in the outward work of devotion, this king we ſee had  
 ‘not at all exceeded the worſt of kings before him. But  
 ‘herein the worſt of kings, profeſſing Chriſtianiſm, have  
 ‘by far exceeded him. They, for aught we know, have  
 ‘ſtill prayed their own, or at leaſt borrowed from fit  
 ‘authors. But this king not content with that which,  
 ‘although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute  
 ‘to his own making other men’s whole prayers, hath  
 ‘as it were unhallowed and unchriſtened the very duty  
 ‘of prayer itſelf, by borrowing to a chriſtian uſe prayers  
 ‘offered to a heathen god. Who would have imagined  
 ‘ſo little fear in him of the true all-ſeeing Deity; ſo little  
 ‘reverence of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe office is to dictate  
 ‘and preſent our chriſtian prayers; ſo little care of truth  
 ‘in his laſt words, or honour to himſelf or to his friends,  
 ‘or ſenſe of his afflictions, or of that ſad hour which  
 ‘was upon him, as, immediately before his death, to  
 ‘pop

(r) King  
 Charles’s  
 works, p.  
 94.

agree, that he was the author of them. The  
prayers

‘ pop into the hand of that grave bishop who attended  
‘ him, as a special relique of his saintly exercises, a  
‘ prayer, stolen word for word from the mouth of a  
‘ heathen woman, praying to a heathen god ; and that in  
‘ no serious book, but in the vain amatorious poem of  
‘ sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* ; a book in that kind full of  
‘ worth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties  
‘ not worthy to be named ; nor to be read at any time  
‘ without good caution, much less in time of trouble  
‘ and affliction, to be a Christian’s prayer-book ? It  
‘ hardly can be thought upon without some laughter,  
‘ that he who had acted over us so stately and so tragi-  
‘ cally, should leave the world at last with such a ridi-  
‘ culous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends  
‘ that stood about him, such a piece of mockery to be  
‘ published by them, as must needs cover both his and  
‘ their heads with shame and confusion. And sure it  
‘ was the hand of God that let them fall, and be taken  
‘ in such a foolish trap, as hath exposed them to all de-  
‘ rision, if for nothing else, to throw contempt and dis-  
‘ grace in the sight of all men, upon this his idolized  
‘ book [*Icon Basilike*], and the whole rosary of his pray-  
‘ ers ; thereby testifying how little he accepted them  
‘ from those who thought no better of the living God  
‘ than of a buzzard idol, that would be served and wor-  
‘ shipped with the polluted trash of romances and *Arca-*  
‘ *dias*, without discerning the affront so irreligiously and  
‘ so boldly offered him to his face (s).’

(s) Milton’s  
prose works,  
vol. i. p.  
408.

In the second edition of *Iconoclastes*, Milton makes  
some large additions to his observations on the plagiarism  
of Charles. They are too long to be here repeated ; but  
what follows I think deserves to be regarded, on account  
of its great spirit and beauty. ‘ But leaving, adds he,  
‘ what might justly be offensive to God, it was a tref-  
‘ pass also more than usual against human right, which  
‘ commands that every author should have the property  
‘ of his own work reserved to him after his death, as  
‘ well as living. Many princes have been rigorous in

prayers may be his, though his friends would,  
many

‘ laying taxes on their subjects by the head ; but of any  
king heretofore, that made a levy upon their wit, and  
‘ seized it as his own legitimate, I have not whom beside  
‘ to instance (t).’

(t) Second  
edition, pub-  
lished in  
1650, re-  
published by  
Baron in 4to.  
Lond. 1756,  
p. 10.

All this may be thought perhaps very severe : but un-  
luckily the thing charged on *Charles*, the stealing this  
prayer from the *Arcadia*, is true, though it has been pre-  
tended to be otherwise by some gentlemen. I will quote  
*Wagstaff*, whose vindication of king *Charles*, against  
*Walker* and others, is in good esteem with the admirers  
of this monarch.—‘ I know but of one objection more,  
‘ and that respects a prayer added to some editions of the  
‘ king’s book [*Icon Basilike*], as used by the king, and  
‘ said to be taken out of a romance, &c. Now though  
‘ I know of no manner of harm in this, and the objec-  
‘ tion is plainly peevish and querulous ; for why may not  
‘ a man use good expressions in his prayers, let them be  
‘ borrowed from whom they will, as well as a good sen-  
‘ tence out of a heathen writer, and which was never  
‘ any blemish, tho’ on the most pious occasions ? yet  
‘ there is great reason to believe that the king did never  
‘ make use of it, for that it is not found in the first, nor  
‘ in several other the most early editions of this book (u).’

(u) Vindi-  
cation of  
king Charles  
the martyr,  
8vo. p. 50,  
Lond. 1697.

—The same writer afterwards adds, ‘ Since the first edi-  
‘ tion of this Vindication, I have received full and con-  
‘ vincing information, concerning the mystery of this  
‘ prayer, that it was an artifice of *Bradshaw*, or *Milton*,  
‘ or both, and by them surreptitiously thrust into the  
‘ king’s works, to discredit the whole. This informa-  
‘ tion comes originally from Mr. *Hills* the printer ; but  
‘ conveyed by two worthy gentlemen, and against whom  
‘ there can be no possible exception, Dr. *Gill* and Dr.  
‘ *Bernard*, who both were physicians to him, and very  
‘ intimate with him. What *Hills* declared, as these  
‘ gentlemen say, was this : Mr. *Dugard*, who was *Mil-*  
‘ *ton*’s intimate friend, happened to be taken printing an  
‘ edition of the king’s book. *Milton* used his interest  
‘ to bring him off, which he effected by the means of  
‘ *Brad-*

many of them, have been glad they had not been

‘ *Bradshaw*; but upon this condition, that *Dugard* should add *Pamela*’s prayer to the aforefaid books he was printing, as an attonement for his fault, they designing thereby to bring a scandal upon the book, and blast the reputation of its author; pursuant to which design, they industriously took care afterwards, as soon as published, to have it taken notice of (w).’—In re-  
 (w) Wagstaff, p. 51.  
 ply to this, *Toland* says, ‘ I wonder at the easiness of Dr. *Gill* and Dr. *Bernard* to believe so gross a fable, when it does not appear that *Dugard*, who was printer to the parliament, ever printed this book; and the prayer is in the second edition, published by Mr. *Royston*, whose evidence is alledged to prove the genuineness of the book. And if the king’s friends thought it not his own, what made them print it in the first impression of his works in folio, by *Royston* in 1662, when *Milton* could not tamper with the press? Or why did they let it pass in the last impression in folio by Mr. *Chiswell*, in the year 86, when all the world knew that it was long before exposed in *Iconoclastes* (x)?’ This seems to  
 (x) Toland’s Amyntor, p. 154, 2vo. Lond. 1699.  
 have some force, and will be deemed, perhaps, satisfactory by many readers. But that nothing may be wanting to give satisfaction in this affair, I will add the words of a much abler writer than either of these gentlemen, and then leave the reader to his own judgment concerning it. ‘ In this controversy [about *Icon Basilike*] a heavy charge hath been alledged against *Milton*. Some editions of the king’s book have certain prayers added at the end, and among them a prayer in time of captivity, which is taken from that of *Pamela* in sir *Philip Sidney*’s *Arcadia*: and it is said this prayer was added by the contrivance and artifice of *Milton*, who, together with *Bradshaw*, prevailed upon the printer to insert it, that from thence he might take occasion to bring a scandal upon the king, and to blast the reputation of his book, as he hath attempted to do in the first section of his answer. This fact is related chiefly upon the authority of *Henry Hills* the printer, who had frequently

been so, on account of the prayer taken from fir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, which has given them much trouble, and caused his adversaries triumphantly to insult over him. Whether *Charles* was the author of *Icon Basilike*, is a question that has been (AA) frequently canvassed, and seems yet pretty difficult to resolve.

‘ frequently affirmed it to Dr. *Gill* and Dr. *Bernard*, his  
 ‘ physicians, as they themselves have testified. But  
 ‘ *Hills* was not himself the printer, who was dealt with  
 ‘ in this manner, and consequently he could have the  
 ‘ story only from hearsay: and though he was *Crom-*  
 ‘ *well's* printer, yet afterwards he turned papist in the  
 ‘ reign of *James II.* in order to be that king's printer,  
 ‘ and it was at that time that he used to relate this story;  
 ‘ so that I think little credit is due to his testimony. And  
 ‘ indeed I cannot but hope and believe, that *Milton* had  
 ‘ a soul above being guilty of so mean an action, to serve  
 ‘ so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for  
 ‘ fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the king for  
 ‘ profaning the duty of prayer “ with the polluted trash  
 ‘ of romances!” For there are not many finer prayers  
 ‘ in the best books of devotion; and the king might as  
 ‘ lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as  
 ‘ the apostle might make quotations from heathen poems  
 ‘ and plays: and it became *Milton* the least of all men  
 ‘ to bring such an accusation against the king, as he was  
 ‘ himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has  
 ‘ made use of them in some of the best and latest of his  
 ‘ writings (y).’

(y) *Milton's*  
 life, by Dr.  
 Newton,  
 prefixed to  
 the first vol.  
 of *Paradise*  
*Lost*, p. 30,  
 8vo. Lond.  
 1750.---  
 See also Dr.  
 Birch's life  
 of *Milton*,  
 prefixed to  
 the first vol.  
 of his prose  
 works, in  
 4to. p. 33.

(AA) Whether *Charles* was the author of *Icon Basilike*, is a question that has been frequently canvassed, &c.] The controversy concerning the author of *Icon Basilike*, has been of long standing. It was published soon after the death of *Charles*, in his name, and was received as his by the generality of the three kingdoms. *Milton* printed an answer to it in 1649, under the title of *Iconoclastes*, which

resolve. Probabilities there are on both sides;

which had several editions, and has been frequently reprinted among the collection of his works.—In the preface to this answer, a doubt is made whether the author of these soliloquies were the late king, or some secret coadjutor? But throughout the body of the reply, the *Icon Basilike* is treated as the king's, whose actions it was intended to defend. In 1651, *William Lilly* published his *Monarchy, or no Monarchy in England*, which is what has been since reprinted (as I take it) under the title of 'Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles.' In this piece, speaking of the *Icon Basilike*, he says, 'It maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own letters, under his own hands, unto the queen, that I conceive the most part of it apocrypha: the meditations or psalms wholly were added by others: some loose papers he had, I do well know; but they were nothing so well methodized, but rather papers intended after for the press, or as it were a memorial or diary, than such a well-couched piece, and to so little purpose (z).' But *Milton* and *Lilly* were adversaries to *Charles*, and therefore little attention was paid to them by the public. On the contrary, *Milton*, for his doubt, was treated as 'a base scribe, naturally fitted to compose satyrs and invent reproaches, and branded as one of those who was hired to despoil the king of the credit of being the author of this performance (a).' (a) Perin-chief, p. 59. In the same stile sir *William Dugdale* speaks concerning this book. 'Charles's adversaries discerning, soon after his death, those most divine meditations made public by the press, and intituled *Icon Basilike*, which in his deplorable and disconsolate solitudes he had pathetically put in writing; whereby his great prudence, patience, and piety in those his woful sufferings would be made openly conspicuous to the world; and not being able to suppress them (as they did earnestly endeavour to do), they made it their work to blast them, by their false and impudent reports, that they were none of his own, but composed by some royalist to gain a reputation

fides ; on which they are the strongest, the reader

(b) Short  
view, p. 380.

(c) Wag-  
staff's vindi-  
cation of  
K. Charles,  
p. 3.

tion to his memory, which they studied by all malicious projects and practices to suppress, and to that purpose encouraged a needy pedagogue, preferring him to the office of a secretary, to write that scandalous book called *Iconoclastes*, being a bitter invective against those his divine meditations (b). In the same stile writes *Barwick*, and others. But little did these warm writers imagine; that a time was soon approaching, when the sons of *Charles* would be found among those ' who made it their work to blast these his meditations, by their false and impudent reports, that they were none of his own, but composed by some royalist to gain a reputation to his memory.' Lord *Anglesey* left a memorandum under his hand, ' that king *Charles II.* and the duke of *York*, did both in the year 1675, when he shewed them in the lords house the written copy of this book, (wherein are some corrections and alterations written with the late king *Charles* the First's own hand) assure him, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. *Gauden*, bishop of *Exeter* (c). Agreeably hereunto is the testimony of bishop *Burnet*. ' I was not a little surpris'd, says he, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great share of favour and free conversation with the then duke of *York*, afterwards king *James II.* as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion; and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the prince of *Wales* was never brought to him. He said Dr. *Gauden* writ it. After the restoration, he brought the duke of *Somerset* and the earl of *Southampton* both to the king and to himself, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the earl of *Southampton*, and shewed the king during the treaty of *Newport*, who read it, and approved of it, as containing his sense of things. Upon this he told me, that though *Sheldon*, and other bishops, opposed *Gauden's* promotion, be-  
cause



reader will have an opportunity of judging,  
in

‘ cause he had taken the covenant, yet the merits of that  
‘ service carried it for him, notwithstanding the opposi-  
‘ tion made to it (d).’—‘ Bishop *Patrick*, who was, in (d) Burnet,  
‘ the old war-time, a great royalist, denies also that king P. 76.

‘ *Charles I.* was the original author of *Icon Basilike* (e).’ (e) Whil-  
‘ To this we must add likewise the testimony of Dr. ton’s me-  
*Walker*, who assures us, ‘ that *Gauden*, some time before moirs of his  
‘ the whole was finished, acquainted him with his de- own life,  
‘ sign, and shewed him the heads of divers chapters, and vol. i. p.  
‘ some of the discourses written of them; and after some 353, 8vo.  
‘ time spent in the perusal, he asked his opinion of it.— Lond. 1749.

‘ That he [*Gauden*] took him along with him to Dr.  
‘ *Duppa*, the bishop of *Salisbury*, (whom he made also  
‘ privy to his design) to fetch what papers he had left  
‘ before for his perusal, or to shew him what he had  
‘ since written: and that, upon their return from that  
‘ place, after *Gauden* and *Duppa* were a while in private  
‘ together, the former told him, the bishop of *Salisbury*  
‘ wished he had thought upon two other heads, the or-  
‘ dinance against the common-prayer-book, and the  
‘ denying his majesty the attendance of his chaplains;  
‘ but that *Duppa* desired him to finish the rest, and he  
‘ would take upon him to write two chapters on those  
‘ subjects, which accordingly he did.’—*Walker* farther  
informs us, ‘ that *Gauden* told him he had sent a copy of  
‘ *Icon Basilike* to the king, in the Isle of *Wight*, by the  
‘ marquis of *Hartford*; that, after the restoration, he  
‘ told him that the duke of *York* knew of his being the  
‘ real author, and had owned it to be a great service;  
‘ that all *Gauden*’s family spoke of it among themselves  
‘ as his work; that after part of it was printed, he gave  
‘ to *Walker*, with his own hand, what was last sent to  
‘ *London*; and after shewing him what it was, sealed it,  
‘ giving him cautionary directions how to deliver it,  
‘ which he did on *Saturday* the 23d of *December*, 1648,  
‘ for Mr. *Royson* the printer, to Mr. *Peacock*, brother to  
‘ Dr. *Gauden*’s steward, who, after the impresson was  
‘ finished, gave him, for his trouble, six books, whereof  
‘ he

in the note. However, whether this book was

(f) Toland's 'he always kept one by him (f).' This is the substance of *Walker's* evidence. I will not detain the reader any longer on this side of the question, than by observing, that in a letter of the lord chancellor *Hide's* (acknowledged to be his own hand-writing by his son the earl of

(g) Wagstaff's vindication, p. 22.

*Clarendon*) to *Gauden* (g), dated March 13, 1661, there is this remarkable expression; 'The particular you mention

(h) Truth brought to light, p. 37.

'has indeed been imparted to me as a secret: I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will

'please none but Mr. *Milton* (h).' The meaning of this seems plain: but if it should not be so, the reader

may possibly understand it, by remembering that not a word is said about *Icon Basilike*, in the long and laboured panegyric of *Charles* by lord *Clarendon*, in his history of

the rebellion; 'whose total silence in so full a history,' says Mr. *Hume*, 'composed in vindication of the king's

'measures and character, forms a very strong presumption on *Toland's* side (i)' [that the king was not the

(i) History of Great Britain, p. 472, in the note.

author of it.]

Let us now hear what *Charles's* advocates say in defence of his title to it.—Dr. *Perinchief*, speaking of *Milton's* attempts to despoil the king of the credit of this

book, adds, 'But all was in vain; for those that were able to judge of styles, found it must be the same pen

'which wrought these meditations, and drew those letters the faction had published for him. Others, that

'were not able to satisfy themselves by such a censure, were assured of it by the relations of colonel *Hammond*

'that was his keeper, who did attest to several persons, that he saw them in the king's hand, heard him read

'them, and did see him to correct them in his presence. The archbishop of *Armagh* [*Usher*] did also affirm to

'those he conversed with, that he was employed, by a command from the king, to get some of them out of

'the hands of the faction; for they were taken in his cabinet at *Naseby*. And *Royston*, that printed them,

'did testify to those that enquired of him, that the king had sent to him, the *Michaelmas* before his death, to

'pro-

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

III

was composed by his majesty, or by some other

‘ provide a press for some papers he should send to him,  
 ‘ which were these, together with a design for a picture  
 ‘ before the book; which at first was three crowns in-  
 ‘ dented on a wreath of thorns; but afterwards the king  
 ‘ recalled that, and sent that other which is now before  
 ‘ his book (k).’—‘ I shall make evident, says *Dugdale*, (k) Life of  
 ‘ from the testimony of very credible persons yet Charles I.  
 ‘ living (l), that he had begun the penning of them P. 59.  
 ‘ [his meditations] long before he went from *Oxford* to (l) This was  
 ‘ the *Scots*: for the manuscript itself, written with his printed in  
 ‘ own hand, being found in his cabinet, which was 1681.  
 ‘ taken at *Naseby* fight, was restored to him, after he  
 ‘ was brought to *Hampton-court*, by the hand of major  
 ‘ *Huntington*, through the favour of general *Fairfax*, of  
 ‘ whom he obtained it. And that whilst he was in the  
 ‘ isle of *Wight*, it was there seen frequently by Mr. *Tho-*  
 ‘ *mas Herbert*, who then waited on his majesty in his  
 ‘ bedchamber; as also by Mr. *William Levett* (a page of  
 ‘ the back-stairs), the title then prefixed to it being  
 ‘ *Suspiria Regalia*, who not only read several parts there-  
 ‘ of, but saw the king divers times writing farther on it.  
 ‘ Add hereunto the testimony of Mr. *Richard Roylson*,  
 ‘ who was sent to by his majesty, about the beginning of  
 ‘ *October*, 1648, to prepare all things ready for the  
 ‘ printing some papers which he purposed shortly after to  
 ‘ convey to him; which was this very copy, brought to  
 ‘ him on the 23d of *December* next following by one Mr.  
 ‘ *Edward Symmons*, a reverend divine, who received it  
 ‘ from Dr. *Bryan Duppa*, the bishop of *Salisbury*. In  
 ‘ printing whereof Mr. *Roylson* made such speed, that it  
 ‘ was finished before that dismal 30th of *January*, that  
 ‘ his majesty’s life was so taken away (m).’ Sir *Philip* (m) Short  
 ‘ *Warwick* talks to the same effect. ‘ Though I cannot view, p. 381.  
 ‘ say I know he wrote his *Icon Basilike*, or Image, which  
 ‘ goes under his name; yet I can say I have heard him,  
 ‘ even unto my unworthy self, say many of those things  
 ‘ it contains: and I have been assured by Mr. *Levet* (one  
 ‘ of the pages of his bedchamber, and who was with  
 ‘ him

other person under his name, it is allowed to

him through all his imprisonments), that he hath not only seen the manuscript of that book among his majesty's papers at the isle of *Wight*, but read many of the chapters himself. And Mr. *Herbert*, who, by the appointment of parliament, attended him, says, he saw the manuscript in the king's hand, as he believed; but it was in a running character, and not that which the king usually wrote (n). And Mr. *Wagstaff* has given an extract from a MS. of sir *Thomas Herbert's*, in which is the following passage. 'At this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called *Suspiria Regalia*, published soon after his death, and intituled *The King's Portraiture in his Solitude and Sufferings*; which manuscript Mr. *Herbert* found among those books his majesty was graciously pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned), in regard Mr. *Herbert*, though he did not see the king write that book, his majesty being always private when he writ, and these his servants never coming into the bedchamber when the king was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his handwriting in other things, he found it so very like, as induces his belief that it was his own, having seen much of the king's writings before (o). And the same author has likewise given us a letter from the abovementioned Mr. *Levet*, who therein declares, 'that of his own certain knowledge he can depose, that the *Icon Basilike* was truly the king's own; he having often observed his majesty oftentimes writing his royal resentments of the bold and insolent behaviour of his soldiers (his rebellious subjects), when they had him in their custody.—I waited on his majesty, says he, as page of the bedchamber in ordinary during all the time of his solitudes—and had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in manuscript, under his majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the window in his own bedchamber, where I was always obliged to attend his majesty's coming thither. After which he tells

(n) *Memoirs*,  
P. 69.

(o) *Vindication*,  
P. 37.

to contain his own sense of things; to be  
well

tells us, 'that upon the king's removal from *Newport*,  
' to *Hurst*, he gave him in charge this said book, and a  
' small cabinet, which he faithfully presented to his ma-  
' jesty's own hands that night in *Hurst-castle* (p).' To (p) *Vindica-*  
all this I will add a passage from *Burnet*. 'I was bred *tion*, p. 38.  
' up with a high veneration of this book; and I remem-  
' ber, that when I heard how some denied it to be his,  
' I asked the earl of *Lothian* about it, who both knew  
' the king very well, and loved him little: he seemed  
' confident it was his own work; for he said, he had  
' heard him say a great many of those very periods that  
' he found in that book (q).—I think I have here given (q) *Burnet*,  
the external evidence in its full strength, for and against *vol. i. p. 76.*  
*Charles's* being the author of *Icon Basilike*. Those who  
know the history of those times, and are acquainted with  
the writers concerning them, will be best able to judge  
on which side the probability lies.

Let us now attend to the style and composition of this  
book. *Anglesey* and *Burnet* declare *Charles II.* and *James*  
*II.* attributed this work to *Gauden*; and we have seen  
*Walker* expressly affirms it. But *Burnet* himself tells us,  
' this is certain, that *Gauden* never writ any thing with  
' that force; his other writings being such, that no man  
' from a likeness of stile would think him capable of  
' writing so extraordinary a book as that is (r).' The (r) *Id.* p. 77.  
following passages in *Wagstaff* seem very forceable. 'Let  
' any man compare the best of *Dr. Gauden's* writings  
' with this book, and do it with judgment and discre-  
' tion, and I dare say he will be perfectly cured; and  
' he can no more believe that *Dr. Gauden* was the author  
' of it; than he can believe that the king's picture at  
' *Whitehall*, and that upon a sign-post, were both drawn  
' by the same hand. I know *Dr. Walker* talks fine  
' things of a man's changing his style, and differing from  
' himself. But when all the pieces put out in a man's  
' own name shall be loose, forced, stiff, and elaborate,  
' and one single one put out in the name of another, in-  
' comparably great and excellent; this is such a change,

well written, and to have been servicable to  
his

‘ as, I believe, no man is capable of, and no man can  
‘ give account for. The force of this, therefore, does  
‘ not lie only in the difference of style and expression,  
‘ but in that total disparity that is between them in every  
‘ thing; for tho’ a man may vary his style (which yet  
‘ Dr. *Gauden*, by the several subjects he hath writ on,  
‘ hath given no reason to think that he had a talent that  
‘ way), yet he cannot be master of better and finer  
‘ thoughts when he pleases; or if he could, to be sure,  
‘ we should see something of them, or, at least, some-  
‘ thing like them, in the works which wear his name,  
‘ and by which he designed to communicate himself to  
‘ the present age, and his memory to posterity. Let a  
‘ man therefore, who hath any understanding in these  
‘ things, compare this admirable book with the genuine  
‘ works of Dr. *Gauden*, his sermons, his speech in the  
‘ lords house against the quakers, and his other tracts,  
‘ and then let him believe they have all the same author  
‘ if he can. This is so clear and convincing, that no-  
‘ thing ought, nothing can defeat it, but the most plain  
‘ and invincible proofs (s).’ He then proceeds to con-  
sider the historical parts of the meditations, and observes,  
‘ that they very well agree with the character of king  
‘ *Charles I.* But how, adds he, to reconcile them to  
‘ Dr. *Gauden*’s character, is, I think, an insuperable dif-  
‘ ficulty. For as to his faculty at history, and how judi-  
‘ cious a compiler he was, we have (as far as I know)  
‘ but one single instance, and that is the life of Mr.  
‘ *Hooker*, wrote by him, and prefixed to one edition of  
‘ the *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and which (to say no more) is  
‘ certainly the most injudicious history of a man’s life  
‘ that ever was written. There are so many palpable  
‘ mistakes and falsehoods, so very little to any purpose of  
‘ history, so lean, jejune, and empty accounts of the  
‘ man, whose life he undertook, that it plainly betrays  
‘ a defect in every necessary qualification of an historian;  
‘ and it is written without care, or diligence, or judg-  
‘ ment. But I had rather leave this to the reader’s own  
‘ eyes,

(s) Vindica-  
tion of king  
Charles, p.  
45.

his memory. For all which reasons, the reader

‘ eyes, than extend it further; and if he please to compare this book and that life together, let him judge for himself; and if, after that, he can possibly believe that they have both one and the same author, he is abandoned to the utmost degree of easiness and credulity, and may believe any thing in the world (t).’ This should be well considered by those gentlemen who roundly assert, that *Gauden* was the author of *Icon Basilike*.— However, it appears, from the evidence of the writers against *Charles*’s being the composer of this book, that it was corrected and altered by him, and that he approved of it, as containing his sense of things, and therefore may properly be looked on as his defence of himself, as well as his accusation of his adversaries.

(t) *Vindication of king Charles*, p. 47.

This note is already long; but the reader will, I hope, pardon me, if I add to it by observing, that the effects of the publishing *Icon Basilike* were at first very considerable, with regard to the memory and character of *Charles*. ‘ Every body in foreign countries,’ says Mr. *Bayle*, ‘ was persuaded that king *Charles* I. wrote the book which bears his name; which did so much honour to his memory, and appeared so fit to make him looked upon as a true martyr, that it was thought that *Milton*, endeavouring to rob him of it, did only use the trick of lawyers, who deny every thing that is too favourable to the contrary party (u).’ Nor had it less effect at home, according to *Burnet*. ‘ A compassionate regard to *Charles* I. was much heightened by the publishing of his book called *Icon Basilike*, which was universally believed to be his own: and that coming out soon after his death, had the greatest run †, in many impressions, that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought, with a greatness of style, that made it to be looked on as the best writ book in the *English* language: and the piety of the prayers made

(u) *Bayle*’s dictionary, article *Milton*, note (n)

† It has gone through forty-seven impressions; ---the number of copies are said to have been 48,500. See Mr. Joseph Ames’s account of the several editions of this book in the *London Magazine* for Feb. 1756.

reader will pardon my being so long in my account of this controversy.

- ‘ all people cry out against the murder of a prince, who  
 ‘ thought so seriously of all his affairs in his secret medi-  
 (w) Barhet, ‘ tations before God (w.)’ So that lord *Shaftsbury* pro-  
 vol. i. p. 76. bably was right when he said, ‘ that it cannot be doubted  
 ‘ that the pious treatise of *Self-discourse*, attributed to this  
 ‘ monarch, contributed in a great measure to his glorious  
 (x) Charac- ‘ and never-fading titles of saint and martyr (x).’  
 teristics, vol. i. p. 193, ‘ Mr. *Hume* observes, ‘ that *Milton* compares the ef-  
 12mo. 1746. fects of this book to those which were operated on the  
 (y) Hume’s ‘ tumultuous *Romans*, by *Anthony*’s reading to them the  
 history, p. 473. ‘ will of *Cæsar* (y).’ He should have quoted the page;  
 but this, for the most part, he neglects to do in his work:  
 however, here is what *Milton* says at length.—‘ *First*,  
 ‘ then, that some men (whether they were by him in-  
 ‘ tended, or by his friends) have by policy accomplished  
 ‘ after death that revenge upon their enemies, which in  
 ‘ life they were not able, hath been oft related. And  
 ‘ among other examples we find, that the last will of  
 ‘ *Cæsar* being read to the people, and what bounteous  
 ‘ legacies he had bequeathed them, wrought more in  
 ‘ that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, than  
 ‘ all the art he could ever use to win his favour in their  
 ‘ life-time. And how much *their intent*, who published  
 ‘ these over-late apologies and meditations of the dead  
 ‘ king, *drives to the same end* of stirring up the people to  
 ‘ bring him that honour, that affection, and by conse-  
 ‘ quence that revenge to his dead corpse, which he him-  
 ‘ self living could never gain to his person; it appears  
 ‘ both by the conceited portraiture before his book,  
 ‘ drawn out to the full measure of a masking scene, and  
 ‘ set there to catch fools and silly gazers; and by those  
 ‘ *Latin words* after the end, *Vota dabunt, quæ bella ne-*  
 ‘ *garunt*; intimating, that what he could not compass  
 (z) *Milton*’s ‘ by war, he should atchieve by his meditations (z).’—  
 prose works, ‘ Let the reader judge from hence of the exactness of this  
 vol. i. p. 403. polite writer, and the reliance which is due to his nar-  
 ratives.

The



The works of *Charles*, as I have observed, are not of themselves voluminous; but yet the editors of them have omitted some writings to which he has an undoubted right (BB): particularly a letter written by him, when

(BB) *The editors of Charles's works have omitted some writings to which he has an undoubted right.*] Toland attacks the editors of *Charles's* works very briskly on this subject. 'I must remark, says he, that tho' his pretended friends were so ready to father such books on *Charles I.* wherein he had no hand; yet they industriously left out of his works a letter to pope Gregory XV. whereof I can prove him as evidently to be the author, as *Cicero* or *Virgil* may be intitled to the *Philippics* and the *Æneids*. There is an interpolated copy of it in the first volume of *Rushworth's* Collections; it is rightly inserted in the quarto edition of a book called *Cabalas, or Mysteries of State*. It is also in the *Italian Mercury* of *Vittorio Siri*; in *Du Chesne's* French History of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and in several Spanish and Italian authors. Pope *Urban VIII.* mentions it in the letter which he likewise sent this prince, with another to his father king *James*; both which may be read in *Rushworth's* Collections. Now was not the omitting this letter a notorious fraud, since that it alone, with those letters which the parliament published to disgrace him, and a few pieces besides, make up all his genuine writings (a).' The following account of *Charles's* letter to *Gregory XV.* is taken from a writer remarkable for his fidelity and exactness. 'We find two letters of *Charles* to *Gregory XV.* and *Urban VIII.* The former of these letters was written while he was prince of *Wales*, and in *Spain*, in answer to one from the pope, dated April 20, 1623, exhorting him to come into the bosom of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done such great things for the defence of religion. The prince's answer, dated at *Madrid*, June 20, the same year, was published soon after in the

(a) *Amyntor*, p. 171.

when prince of *Wales*, in the year 1623, to  
 pope

‘ *Mercure François*, and since reprinted in *Wilson, Rus-*  
 ‘ *worth, &c.* tho’ there is some difference in the copies  
 ‘ given by the two last mentioned historians. But in  
 ‘ that of the *Mercure François*, which agrees with *Rus-*  
 ‘ *worth’s* [I think it should be *Wilson’s*], are these most re-  
 ‘ markable expressions : “ It was an unspeakable pleasure  
 ‘ to me to read the generous exploits of the kings my  
 ‘ predecessors, to whose memory posterity hath not given  
 ‘ those praises and eulogies of honour, as were due to  
 ‘ them. I do believe that your holiness hath set their  
 ‘ examples before my eyes, to the end, that I might  
 ‘ imitate them in all my actions ; for, in truth, they have  
 ‘ often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation  
 ‘ of the holy chair. And the courage with which they  
 ‘ have assaulted the enemies of the cross of *Jesus Christ*,  
 ‘ hath not been less than the care and thought which I  
 ‘ have, to the end, that the peace and intelligence,  
 ‘ which hath hitherto been wanting in *Christendom*, might  
 ‘ be bound with the bond of a true concord. For like  
 ‘ as the common enemy of peace watcheth always to  
 ‘ put hatred and dissention between the christian princes,  
 ‘ so I believe that the glory of God requires, that we  
 ‘ should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem  
 ‘ it a greater honour to be descended from so great  
 ‘ princes, than to imitate them in the zeal of their piety ;  
 ‘ in which it helps me very much to have known the  
 ‘ mind and will of our thrice honoured lord and father,  
 ‘ and the holy intentions of his catholic majesty, to give  
 ‘ a happy concurrence to so laudable a design ! For it  
 ‘ grieves him extremely to see the great evil, that grows  
 ‘ from the division of christian princes, which the wis-  
 ‘ dom of your holiness foresaw, when it judged the mar-  
 ‘ riage, which you pleased to design between the infant  
 ‘ of *Spain* and myself, to be necessary to procure so great  
 ‘ a good. For it is very certain, that I shall never be so  
 ‘ extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to  
 ‘ endeavour an alliance with a prince that hath the same  
 ‘ apprehension of true religion with myself. Therefore  
 ‘ I

pope Gregory XV. and another in the year  
1634,

“ I intreat your holiness to believe, that I have been al-  
“ ways very far from encouraging novelties, or to be a  
“ partizan of any faction against the catholic apostolic  
“ Roman religion; but, on the contrary, I have sought  
“ all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest  
“ upon me, and that I will employ myself for the time  
“ to come, to have but one religion and one faith,  
“ seeing that we all believe in *Jesus Christ*; having re-  
“ solved in myself to spare nothing, that I have in the  
“ world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities,  
“ even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing  
“ so pleasing unto God (b).” — The king’s letter to  
pope Urban VIII. was written in 1634: it is in *Latin*,  
and was occasioned by the distresses the house of *Lorraine*  
was involved in by the arms of *France*. It shews great  
affection to the princes of that family, and is full of  
pressing addresses to his holiness to exert his paternal au-  
thority to put an end to the calamities of the war. There  
is nothing in it on the subject of religion; but it is mere-  
ly a civil compliment for a civil end, as *Prynne* justly ob-  
serves. This letter was found among *Laud’s* papers, and  
endorsed with his own hands in these words: ‘ *Rece.*  
‘ *Oct. 15, 1635.* A copy of the letter which is reported  
‘ king *Charles* did write to pope *Urban VIII.* about the  
‘ restitution of the duke of *Lorraine* (c).’ So that there  
can be little doubt concerning its genuineness, or of the  
correspondence his majesty held on some occasions with  
the head of the *Romish* church.—But the editors of  
*Charles’s* works are chargeable with other omissions,  
namely, the instructions he gave to lord *Carleton*, con-  
taining an account of his queen’s ill behaviour toward  
him, of which I have already given an account; and  
instructions to colonel *Cookran* [*Cockeram*], to be pursued  
in his negotiations to the king of *Denmark*. In these are  
set forth ‘ the undutiful behaviour of many of his ma-  
‘ jesty’s subjects, who have not only invaded his majesty  
‘ in his particular rites, but have laid a designe to dis-  
‘ solve the monarchie and frame of government, under

(b) Enquiry into the share which K. Charles I. had in the trans- actions of the earl of Glamorgan, p. 285, 8vo. Lond. 1747.

(c) Prynne’s hidden works of darkness, p. 142, fol. Lond. 1645.

1634, to pope *Urban VIII*. To these also  
we

‘pretences of liberty and religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of *Christendoms* to be looked upon with successe in their designe.’ After this he shews the reasons he had ‘to forsake *London*; the effect of his declarations to undeceive the people, and to draw to him universally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom; the force he was master of, and the good condition of his affairs. And in order farther to induce his *Danish* majesty to give him the assistance demanded, he the said colonel is to set forth, that it had been moved in the commons house to set out a fleet to take away his customs of the *Sound*; that the commons had given instructions to the fleet to visit, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships as they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them; that this actually had been done by them; and that they permitted not *Danish* ships, drove in by stress of weather, so much as to water.’ After which there follow these very remarkable words:

‘That in pursuance of their [the parliament’s] great designe of extirpating the royall blood, and monarchie of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his [*Denmark*’s] sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretentions of the whole race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times, to colour their pretentions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred majestie of *England*, in the true sence of honor of his mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expect his [*Denmark*’s] concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms. These things were to be urged by *Cockeram* to the *Danish* king, in order, we may suppose, to inflame him against the parliament, and thereby procure a loane of 100000 *l.* in money,  
“ 6000

we must add the instructions given to his  
minif-

‘ 6000 musquets, 1500 horse-arms, and 20 pieces of  
‘ field-artillery mounted, together with some horse-  
‘ men (d).’ These instructions have no date; but they (d) King’s  
must have been given about the middle of the year 1642, cabinet, p.  
at the latest: for we read in *Whitlock*, ‘ that in Novem- 38, 43.  
‘ ber, that year, letters from *Holland* to the king were  
‘ intercepted, whereby notice is given him of store of  
‘ ammunition and money sent to him from thence, and  
‘ of an ambassador coming from *Denmark* to the king,  
‘ and colonel *Cockeram* with him (e).’—*Milton* speaks of (e) *Whit-*  
this suspicion, mentioned of his mother’s chastity, in the lock’s me-  
following terms. ‘ Was it not dishonourable in himself 66.  
‘ [*Charles*] to feign suspicions and jealousies, which we  
‘ found among those letters [taken at *Naseby*], touching  
‘ the chastity of his mother, thereby to gain assistance (f) *Milton*’s  
‘ from the king of *Denmark*, as in vindication of his prose works,  
‘ sister (f)?’ It looks by this, that *Milton* was unac- p. 468.  
quainted with the rumours of that queen’s amours (g). (g) See his-  
These instructions to *Cockran* were afterwards made use torical and  
of by the parliament to *Charles*’s disadvantage, as we may critical ac-  
learn from the following passage.—*Feb.* 11, 1647, ‘ De- count of the  
bate upon the declaration touching no more addresses I. p. 14--  
‘ to the king, and voted upon hearing proofs, that his 34.  
‘ majesties instructions to Mr. *Cockeram*—be inserted in  
‘ the declaration, and ordered it to be printed and pub-  
‘ lished (h).’ (h) *Whit-*  
lock, p. 291.

What I have here inserted, is merely to discharge the  
duty of an historian. I am accountable for nothing  
contained in these letters and instructions: whether they  
are honourable or disgraceful to their author, the reader,  
as he has a right, will and must judge. But I cannot  
conclude this note without observing, that the artifice of  
the editors of *Charles*’s works was poor and ineffectual:  
They thought to have buried these writings in oblivion,  
by omitting them in their collection; they imagined that  
for the future men would not think of them. But the  
thought was vain, as they had made so much noise in  
the world, and had been inserted in so many different  
col-

minister at *Paris*, containing an account of the ill behaviour of his queen towards him; as likewise the instructions to colonel *Cockram*, to be pursued in his negotiation with the king of *Denmark*. More of *Charles's* letters we were likely once to have had; but by the uncommon care of the friends to his memory they were suppressed (cc), and will not,

collections; and the event has shewn, that historical inquirers have come to the knowledge of them, and declared their contents: For all writers have not been so very complaisant to the memory of this monarch as Mr. *Hume*, who passes over so remarkable a letter as what is here quoted to *Gregory XV.* with only saying, 'that the prince [*Charles*] having received a very civil letter from the pope, he was induced to return a very civil answer (i).'

(i) History  
of Great  
Britain, p.  
200.

(cc) More of *Charles's* letters we were likely once to have had; but by the friends to his memory they were suppressed.] The following quotation, as it contains something remarkable, so will it be new to a great many of my readers, who, I doubt not, will be pleased with my giving it them at length.—'The most exceptionable part of *Charles I.*'s character, and what appears to have been the main source of his misfortunes, and occasion of his ruin, was his want of sincerity in all matters, in which his power and prerogative were concerned. This is too clearly proved by many public facts, to be denied by any impartial person; and might have been still more strongly evinced, if the friends to the king's memory had not taken an uncommon care to suppress such evidences as would have discredited their panegyrics upon him. A remarkable instance of this zeal appears from a letter of Dr. *Charles Hickman* [afterwards bishop of *Londonderry*], chaplain to *Laurence Hyde* earl of *Rocheſter*, the younger son of the earl of *Clarendon*, and the editor of his history. This letter

not, in all probability, ever see the light.

All

‘ letter was written by the doctor, at the desire of his  
‘ patron, to Dr. *Thomas Sprat*, bishop of *Rochester*, to  
‘ request that prelate’s concurrence for preventing the  
‘ intended publication of a collection of letters of king  
‘ *Charles I.* to his queen; which must have been dis-  
‘ ferent from those taken in his cabinet at *Naseby*, since  
‘ the latter had not only been published by order of the  
‘ long parliament, but likewise several times reprinted,  
‘ and particularly with that king’s works. But the  
‘ former collection has never been seen, nor is ever likely to  
‘ see the light; as it is probable, that those who appear,  
‘ from Dr. *Hickman*’s letter, so zealous for his majesty’s  
‘ memory, would sacrifice to his honour what they  
‘ thought so inconsistent with it. This suppression of  
‘ important facts, in favour of particular characters and  
‘ parties, is little less criminal than the absolute falsifica-  
‘ tion of them: and such a violation of one of the first  
‘ laws of history has been the great source of the cor-  
‘ ruption of it, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Dr.  
‘ *Hickman*’s letter is as follows.

‘ My Lord,

‘ Last week Mr. *Bennet* [a bookseller] left with me  
‘ a manuscript of letters from king *Charles I.* to his  
‘ queen; and said it was your lordship’s desire and Dr.  
‘ *Pelling*’s, that my lord *Rochester* would read them over,  
‘ and see what was fit to be left out in the intended edition  
‘ of them. Accordingly my lord has read them over,  
‘ and upon the whole matter says, he is very much amazed  
‘ at the design of printing them; and thinks that king’s  
‘ enemies could not have done him a greater discourtesy. He  
‘ shewed me many passages, which detract very much from  
‘ the reputation of the king’s prudence, and something from  
‘ his integrity; and, in short, he can find nothing through-  
‘ out the whole collection, but what will lessen the character  
‘ of the king, and offend all those who wish well to his me-  
‘ mory. He thinks it very unfit to expose any man’s con-  
‘ ver-

All that remains now to be mentioned of the

‘ versation and familiarity with his wife, but especially  
 ‘ that king’s; for it was apparently his blind side, and his  
 ‘ enemies gained great advantage by shewing it. But my  
 ‘ lord hopes his friends will spare him; and therefore he  
 ‘ has ordered me not to deliver the book to the bookseller,  
 ‘ but put it into your lordship’s hands; and when you  
 ‘ have read it, he knows you will be of his opinion. If  
 ‘ your lordship has not time to read it all, my lord has  
 ‘ turned down some leaves, where he makes his chief  
 ‘ objections. If your lordship sends any servant to town,  
 ‘ I beg you would order him to call here for the book,  
 ‘ and that you would take care about it.

‘ Here is a hot discourse that the warrant is signed for  
 ‘ my lord Preston’s execution; but I cannot believe it.  
 ‘ My lord, I humbly beg your lordship’s blessing; and  
 ‘ remain your most dutiful son, and humble servant,

‘ Charles Hickman.

‘ To the right reverend the lord bishop of Rochester, at  
 ‘ Bromley in Kent.

‘ This letter was written some time between the 17th.  
 ‘ of January, 1690, and the 16th of February following,  
 ‘ tho’ the precise day be uncertain; and it is transcribed  
 ‘ from the Harleian library of manuscripts, 161, c. 18,  
 ‘ fol. 189, which was purchased in 1753 by the parlia-  
 ‘ ment, and now made part of the British Museum (k);  
 ‘ so that there can be no possible doubt of its authenti-  
 ‘ city.

(A) Appen-  
 dix to the  
 Enquiry into  
 the share K.  
 Charles I.  
 had in Glam-  
 organ’s  
 transactions,  
 p. 12.

(I) See  
 Preface to  
 the 1st vol.  
 of Clarendon’s histo-  
 ry, p. 2.

This letter, as it tends little to the honour of the  
 memory of Charles, reflects somewhat on the character of  
 lord Rochester, and may possibly tempt the reader to pay  
 the less regard to the protestation he makes, of his  
 not daring to take on him to make any alterations in  
 his father’s history (I); it being to be suspected, that he  
 who scruples not, out of party-views, to conceal the  
 truth, may on occasion pervert it, to answer the same  
 purposes.

pro-



production of this king's pen, is a 'copy of verses (DD), written at *Carisbrook-castle* in the year

(DD) *A copy of verses, &c.*] This poem has the title of *Majesty in Misery: or an Imploration to the King of Kings*. It is said to have been written by his majesty at *Carisbrook-castle*, in the year 1648.

It is somewhat long; but as it is little known, and perhaps may gratify the reader's curiosity, and enable him to judge of the poetical talents of *Charles*, I will insert it.

I.

Great monarch of the world, from whose power springs  
The potency and power of kings,  
Record the royal woe my suffering fings;

2.

And teach my tongue, that ever did confine  
Its faculties in truth's seraphick line,  
To track the treasons of thy foes and mine.

3.

Nature and law, by thy divine decree,  
(The only root of righteous royaltie)  
With this dim diadem invested me:

4.

With it, the sacred scepter, purple robe,  
The holy unction, and the royal globe:  
Yet am I levell'd with the life of *Job*.

5.

The fiercest furies, that do daily tread  
Upon my grief, my gray-discrowned head,  
Are those that owe my bounty for their bread.

6.

They raise a war, and christen it *the cause*,  
Whilst sacrilegious hands have best applause,  
Plunder and murder are the kingdom's laws;

year 1648. They have been omitted in the

7.

Tyranny bears the title of taxation,  
Revenge and robbery are reformation,  
Oppression gains the name of sequestration.

8.

My loyal subjects who in this bad season  
Attend me (by the law of God and reason)  
They dare impeach, and punish for high treason.

9.

Next at the clergy do their furies frown,  
Pious episcopacy must go down,  
They will destroy the crozier and the crown.

10.

Churchmen are chain'd, and schismatics are free'd,  
Mechanicks preach, and holy fathers bleed,  
The crown is crucified with the creed.

11.

The church of *England* doth all faction foster,  
The pulpit is usurpt by each impostor,  
*Ex tempore* excludes the *pater noster*.

12.

The *presbyter* and *independant* seed  
Springs with broad blades; to make religion bleed,  
*Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* are agreed.

13.

The corner stones misplac'd by every pavier;  
With such a bloody method and behaviour,  
Their ancestors did crucifie our Saviour.

14.

My royal consort, from whose fruitful womb  
So many princes legally have come,  
Is forc'd in pilgrimage to seek a tomb.

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
the collection of his works; though no  
doubt

127

15.

*Great Britain's heir is forced into France,  
Whilst on his father's head his foes advance:  
Poor child! he weeps out his inheritance.*

16.

*With my own power my majesty they wound,  
In the king's name the king himself's uncrown'd;  
So doth the dust destroy the diamond.*

17.

*With propositions daily they enchant  
My people's ears, such as do reason daunt,  
And the Almighty will not let me grant.*

18.

*They promise to erect my royal stem,  
To make me great, t' advance my diadem,  
If I will first fall down and worship them!*

19.

*But for refusal they devour my thrones,  
Distress my children, and destroy my bones,  
I fear they'll force me to make bread of stones.*

20.

*My life they prize at such a slender rate,  
That in my absence they draw bills of hate,  
To prove the king a traitor to the state.*

21.

*Felons obtain more privilege than I,  
They are allow'd to answer ere they die;  
'Tis death for me to ask the reason, why.*

22.

*But sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo  
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to  
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they do.*

23

doubt has been made of their genuineness.

But

23.

For since they from their Lord are so disjointed,  
As to condemn those edicts he appointed,  
How can they prize the power of his anointed?

24.

Augment my patience, nullifie my hate,  
Preserve my issue, and inspire my mate,  
Yet though we perish, bless this church and state.

Of this poem, Dr. Burnet (who says he had it from a very worthy gentleman, who waited on his majesty at that time, and copied it out from the original) observes, 'that the mighty sense and great piety of it, will be found to be beyond all the finest subtilties of poetry, which yet are not wanting here (m).'

(m) Memoire  
of the dukes  
of Hamilton,  
p. 379.

And Mr. Hume, speaking of this copy of verses, remarks, 'that the truth of the sentiment, rather than the elegance of expression, renders them very pathetic (n).' The reader, who attentively considers them, will be able to judge of the propriety of these observations, and of the poetical talents of his majesty.

(n) History  
of Great  
Britain, p.  
451.

I have now finished the account of Charles's writings: and as a memento to princes, and their ministers, (if such should ever cast an eye on this performance) I will close the note with the wholesome advice of Lord Shaftesbury. 'I will not, says he, take upon me to recommend this author-character to our future princes. Whatever crowns or lawrels their renowned predecessors [Henry VIII. James I. and Charles I.] may have gathered in this field of honor; I should think that, for the future, the speculative province might more properly be committed to private heads. It would be a sufficient encouragement to the learned world, and a sure earnest of the increase and flourishing of letters in our nation, if its sovereigns would be contented to be the patrons of wit, and vouchsafe to look

But it is time to pass from the private to the public character of *Charles*. Abroad he made little figure; his wars being ill conducted, and unsuccessful: witness the war with *Spain* (EE), which he found himself engaged

‘ look graciously on the ingenious pupils of art. Or  
 ‘ were it the custom of their prime ministers to have any  
 ‘ such regard, it would of itself be sufficient to change  
 ‘ the face of affairs. A small degree of favour would  
 ‘ insure the fortunes of a distressed and ruinous tribe,  
 ‘ whose forlorn condition has helped to draw disgrace  
 ‘ upon arts and sciences, and kept them far off from  
 ‘ that politeness and beauty, in which they would soon  
 ‘ appear (o).’

(o) Characteristicks,  
 vol. i. p.  
 193.

(EE) *Witness the war with Spain, &c.*] *Charles*, by attesting the narrative of the duke of *Buckingham*, concerning the *Spaniards* behaviour in the match with the *Infanta*, and the restitution of the *Palatinate*, was the occasion of the parliament’s desire that the treaties should be broken off, and arms made use of to recover the patrimony of the king of *Bohemia*. King *James*, against his inclinations, seemed to comply with the voice of his people, declared by their representatives; and preparations were made for war. In the mean while *James* died; and *Charles*, intent on carrying on what by *Buckingham*’s instigation he had began, quickly assembled a parliament; in which, at the opening of it, he was pleased to say, ‘ My lords and gentlemen, I hope you  
 ‘ remember you were pleased to employ me to advise my  
 ‘ father to break off those two treaties that were on  
 ‘ foot; so that I cannot say I came hither a free unengaged man. It’s true, I came into this business willingly and freely, like a young man, and consequently  
 ‘ rashly; but it was by your interest, your engagement; so that though it were done like a young man, yet I  
 ‘ cannot repent me of it, and I think none can blame me for it, knowing the love and fidelity you have borne  
 ‘ to your king, having myself likewise some little experience

engaged in on his accession to the throne,  
*March*

(p) Frank-  
land's an-  
nals, p. 109.

‘ rience of your affections. I pray you remember that  
 ‘ this being my first action, and begun by your advice  
 ‘ and intreaty, what a great dishonour it were to you,  
 ‘ and me, if this action, so begun, should fail for that  
 ‘ assistance you are able to give me. Yet knowing the  
 ‘ constancy of your love, both to me and this business, I  
 ‘ needed not to have said this, but only to shew what  
 ‘ care and sense I have of your honours and my own.—  
 ‘ Wherefore I hope you will take such grave counsel, as  
 ‘ you will expedite what you have in hand to do: which  
 ‘ will do me and yourselves an infinite deal of honour;  
 ‘ you, in shewing your love to me; and me, that I may  
 ‘ perfect that work which my father hath so happily  
 ‘ begun (p).’ After this the lord-keeper *Williams*, by  
 his majesty’s order, told them, ‘ that the king’s main  
 ‘ reason of calling this parliament, was to mind them of  
 ‘ the great engagements for the recovery of the Pala-  
 ‘ tinate, and to let them understand that the subsidies  
 ‘ granted in the last parliament were already spent, toge-  
 ‘ ther with as much of the king’s own revenue.”——It  
 must be confessed this address of *Charles* was very proper,  
 and calculated to make the parliament readily and power-  
 fully support him. But however it was, two subsidies  
 only were granted; nor could the king, either at *London*,  
 or *Oxford*, (where the parliament, on account of the  
 plague, was ordered to be assembled after its adjourn-  
 ment) obtain more. The commons had their grievances;  
 and their touching on them was unacceptable to the  
 court, especially as *Buckingham* began to be severely in-  
 veighed against; and rather than be forced to redress  
 them, his majesty chose to dissolve the parliament, tho’  
 money was never more wanted by a king for his own  
 private use, and to carry on the war (q).

(q) See Sid-  
ney’s state-  
papers, vol.  
ii. p. 360,  
363.

But notwithstanding the dissolution of the parliament,  
*Charles* having raised money by way of loan, though  
 contrary to law, determined to carry on the war against  
*Spain*. ‘ To this end, a fleet was fitted out for an expe-  
 ‘ dition against that kingdom. The command thereof,  
 ‘ instead

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

131

March 26, 1625: a war which began with fitting

instead of being bestowed on sir *Robert Mansel*, an old and experienced seaman, and vice-admiral of *England*, was given to sir *Edward Cecil*, a soldier trained in the Low-country wars, who, for the honour of the enterprise, was created viscount *Wimbleton*; and agreeable to the choice of the general was the success of this expedition. His fleet consisted of eighty sail, of which number some were ships of the States General; and the earls of *Essex* and *Denbigh* were his vice and rear admirals; with which setting sail from *Plymouth*, when he was got some few leagues at sea, he was encountered with a violent storm, which dispersed the fleet, so that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off cape *St. Vincent*. From thence proceeding to the bay of *Cadiz*, they found there, near the *Puntal*, fourteen great ships, and twelve gallies, which, through neglect and mismanagement, they suffered to escape; for though the earl of *Essex*, pursuant to the general's orders, did very resolutely and bravely attack them, yet the rest of the fleet not coming up timely to his assistance, the *Spanish* ships, after having given the earl a warm salute or two, retired over to *Port Real*: to which place it was not thought fit to follow them, whether through the ignorance of the pilots, or unskilfulness of the general, is hard to determine. So that failing in this enterprise, they attacked the castle of *Puntal*, and, with the loss of a great many men, made a shift to achieve the reduction of that place: after which, having made some ineffectual efforts against the town of *Cadiz*, the troops were reembarked, and the fleet set sail for cape *St. Vincent*, to cruise in the offing of that place for the Flota from *America*, where having waited for some time in vain, the men began to grow very sickly; when, to complete the miscarriages of this expedition, the sick men were distributed through the whole fleet, two to each ship, by which means the sickness was increased to such a degree, that there were scarce hands enough

fitting out a considerable fleet, under an un-  
experienced

‘ left to carry the fleet home, which, in the month of  
(r) Burchet’s ‘ *December*, returned ingloriously to *England* (r).’—  
naval histo- This was the only expedition against *Spain*, this the fruit  
ry, p. 370, of it! which, we may be sure, tended not greatly to the  
fol. Lond. reputation of the *British* arms, or the honour of the *Bri-*  
1720. See tish monarch.—However, this dishonourable expedition  
also *Acta* to *Cadiz* did not sit easy on *Charles*. He testified his  
*Regia*, p. repentment of *Wimbleton*’s conduct, by calling him to an  
555, fol. account before his council, and afterwards forbidding  
Lond. And him his presence. *Wimbleton*, however, stood stoutly in  
*Howel’s let-* his own justification, and laid the blame on sir *Michael*  
ters, p. 168. *Geree* and the earl of *Essex*, ‘ who, says he, let pass the  
‘ king of *Spain*’s ships that offered him fight, which  
‘ would have been the chief service, having instructions  
‘ not to let any flee, or break out, without fighting with  
‘ them.’ After this, in a letter to *Buckingham*, he adds,  
‘ I hold myself clear of all imputations, in despite of  
‘ all malice and practice that hath been against me, to  
‘ obscure all my endeavours, which my adversaries in  
‘ their consciences can best witness, that when they slept,  
‘ I waked; when they made good cheer, I fasted; and  
‘ when they rested, I toyled. And besides, when they  
‘ went about to hinder the journey at *Plimouth*, by railing  
‘ at the beggarliness of it, and discrediting of it, I was  
‘ content to take it upon me, though against my judg-  
‘ ment, as I did secretly deliver both to his majesty and  
‘ your grace, before I departed from the coast: nomi-  
‘ nating in my letter to his majesty all the inconveniences  
‘ that did after happen unto the fleet; for had it not been  
‘ in obedience to his majesty, and my good affection to  
‘ your excellency (that I did see so much affect it, and  
‘ was so far engaged), I would rather have been torne in  
‘ pieces, than to have gone with so many ignorant and  
‘ malicious people, that did shew so little affection or  
‘ courage to his majesty’s service, or any affection at all  
‘ to your excellency. Yet for all this, all hath been laid  
‘ upon me, having had rather hard courses taken against  
‘ me, than any way maintained in my commission which  
‘ was



experienced sea-commander, the viscount  
Wim-

‘ was given me, which no state, that I ever heard of,  
‘ did before. I pray God, his majestie’s future service do  
‘ not suffer for it; for where his majestie’s officers are  
‘ not obeyed, he can never be served (s).’—I suppose (s) Cabala,  
*Wimbledon* was not believed; for after this he was not P. 405.  
employed, though he had been a creature of *Buckingham’s*.

About this time likewise *Charles* sent the duke of  
*Buckingham* and the earl of *Holland* ambassadors to the  
United Provinces, where they met those of *France*, *Hol-*  
*land*, and *Denmark*, and concluded a league against the  
Emperor and the king of *Spain*, for the restoring the Pala-  
tinate and the liberties of *Germany*. Whereupon the  
king of *Denmark* took up arms, and was assisted by six  
thousand men from *England*, under the command of sir  
*Charles Morgan*. But he was soon defeated by *Tilly* the  
Imperial general, and forced to make peace with the Em-  
peror; by which means the hope of restoring that coun-  
try was lost, and *Charles* was moreover reflected on for  
not giving the assistance he had promised (t). After these  
ill successes, arms were no more recurred to against the  
Emperor or *Spain*; but a peace was concluded with the  
latter, and proclaimed at *London*, November 27, 1631.

(t) See Na-  
ni’s history  
of Venice,  
p. 255, fol.  
Lond. 1673.  
and Acta  
Regia, p.  
555.

Whoever calls to mind the zeal the parliament in  
*James’s* time expressed for a rupture with *Spain*, and the  
recovery of the Palatinate by force of arms, may well  
enough wonder at the small supplies given by *Charles’s*  
parliament for these ends. Lord *Clarendon* reflects on  
this parliament for refusing to supply the king, according  
to his desire, out of hatred to *Buckingham*, ‘ whom they  
‘ called the corrupter of the king, and betrayer of the  
‘ liberties of the people, without, says he, imputing the  
‘ least crime to him, to have been committed since the  
‘ time of that exalted adulation [when he returned with  
‘ the prince from *Spain*, and was called our saviour], or  
‘ that was not then as much known to them as it could  
‘ be now (u).’ But in answer hereunto, lord *Bolingbroke*  
remarks, ‘ that the parliaments, which met after the

(u) Claren-  
don, vol. i.  
p. 26.

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
*Wimbledon*; which, after a fruitless expedition

‘ acceſſion of king *Charles*, became incenſed, as they  
‘ diſcovered more and more that the account given by  
‘ the duke of *Buckingham*, in the reign of king *James*,  
‘ and on which the reſolutions of that parliament had  
‘ been taken, was falſe in almoſt every point. A ſyſtem  
‘ of lies, dreſſed up to deceive the nation, and impoſed  
‘ on the parliament, could neither remain undiscovered,  
‘ nor eſcape the reſentment and indignation it deſerved,  
‘ when diſcovered. Beſides, that parliament, and the  
‘ nation too, when they expreſſed ſo much joy at the  
‘ breach with *Spain*, flattered themſelves that, by pre-  
‘ venting the marriage with the Infanta, they had pre-  
‘ vented all the dangers which they apprehended from  
‘ that marriage; whereas it appeared ſoon afterwards,  
‘ that they ſtood expoſed to the very ſame dangers by  
‘ the marriage concluded with *France*; nay, to greater;  
‘ ſince the education of the children by the mother, that  
‘ is, in popery, had been confined to ten years by the  
‘ former treaty, and was extended to thirteen by the lat-  
‘ ter. In ſhort, it cannot be denied, and my lord *Clare-  
‘ rendon* owns, that as the inſolence of *Buckingham* cauſed  
‘ the war with *Spain*, ſo his luſt and his vanity alone  
‘ threw the nation into another with *France*. *Spain* was  
‘ courted firſt without reaſon, and affronted afterwards  
‘ without provocation. Ships were lent to the king of  
‘ *France* againſt his proteſtant ſubjects; and the perfecution  
‘ of his proteſtant ſubjects was made the pretence of  
‘ a rupture with him. Thus was the nation led from  
‘ one extravagant project to another, at an immense  
‘ charge, with great diminution of honour, and infinite  
‘ loſs to trade, by the ignorance, private intereſt, and  
‘ paſſion of one man. The conduct therefore of the  
‘ parliament, who attacked this man, was perfectly con-  
‘ ſiſtent with the conduct of that parliament who had ſo  
‘ much applauded him; and one cannot obſerve without  
‘ aſtoniſhment, the ſlip made by the noble hiſtorian we  
‘ have juſt quoted, when he affirms, that the ſame men  
‘ who had applauded him, attacked him, without im-  
‘ puting

tion to *Cadiz*, returned home most ignominiously;

‘ putting the least crime to him, that was not as much known when they applauded him, as when they attacked him. Now it is plain, that many of the crimes imputed to him, in the reign of king *Charles*, when he was attacked, could not be known; and that many others had not been even committed in the reign of king *James*, when he was, upon one single occasion, applauded (w).’ This seems a sufficient reply to lord *Clarendon*. (w) Craftsmen, vol. vii. p. 389, 12mo, Lond. 1731.

Mr. *Hume* indeed seems of *Clarendon*’s mind: he calls the two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 *l.* rather a cruel mockery of *Charles*, than any serious design of supporting him; and he attributes this usage not only to envy and hatred against *Buckingham*; the nation’s being unused to the burthens of taxes; the disgusts of the puritans against the court, ‘ both by reason of the principles of civil liberty, essential to their party, and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy; and the match with *France*:’ I say, he attributes this behaviour of the parliament not only to these causes, but likewise to the design the principal men among the commons ‘ had to seize the opportunity, which the king’s necessities offered them, to reduce the prerogative within more reasonable bounds (x).’ But this is refining too much. The parliament saw the war was directed by wrong hands; they saw *English* ships lent to the *French* king, in order to destroy the protestants of his kingdom; and consequently they had little hopes that the Palatinate (the chief reason of the war) would be recovered by the counsels of those, who were so unconcerned about the protestant cause. Add to this, that the parliament were out of humour at being adjourned to *Oxford*, ‘ when the pestilence had overspread the land, so that no man that travelled knew where to lodge in safety; and therefore might reasonably be supposed to have voted out of discontent and displeasure, as *Williams* thought they would (y).’ These considerations, with those mentioned by lord *Bolingbroke*, abundantly account (x) Hume’s history of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 144-147.  
(y) Phillips’s life of Williams, p. 161, 8vo. Cambridge, 1700.

miniously; and nothing against that nation was afterwards attempted, though peace was not proclaimed till the middle of the year 1631. Nor was this prince more fortunate in the war (FF) which, by the instigation of *Buckingham*, he made against *France*, at the

account for the behaviour of *Charles's* parliament, and are a justification of it.

(FF) *Nor was this prince more fortunate in the war, &c.*] In the note (1) I have shewn the real causes of this war, even the lust and revenge of *Buckingham*: but this was carefully to be concealed from the world, and *Charles* was made to believe that he had received injuries from *France*, and that his honour and interest required him to revenge them.

*Buckingham* therefore prevailed on him to declare war against the *French* king, and, for the reasons of it, to alledge the influence of the house of *Austria* on the councils of *France*, manifested in count *Mansfeld's* being denied landing with his army there, in the conclusion of his father's reign; the injuries and oppressions of the protestants of *France*, though they had strictly adhered to the edict of peace concluded by his mediation; and the injustice of his most christian majesty, in seizing upon one hundred and twenty *English* ships in time of full peace. These were the pretences on which war against *France* was made, when *Charles* was unable to prosecute that he was engaged in against *Spain*. However, a good fleet was equipped out, an army put on board, and *Buckingham*, who was ignorant of military affairs, constituted admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of the land-forces (2). On the 7th of *June*, 1627, he sailed from *Portsmouth*; and having in vain attempted to get entrance into *Rochelle*, directed his course to the isle of *Rhee*, where he landed his forces, and might easily have made himself master of the fort *de la Prée*, and those who defended it. But he was dilatory; *Thoiras*, the *French* commander, was active, and kept him so well

(2) See  
Rushworth,  
vol. i. p.  
424, 425.

the same time that the *Spanish* breach was  
un-

employed, that time was given to the *French* court to raise forces, under the command of count *Schomberg*; who landed in the island without any molestation from the *English* fleet, marched towards *Buckingham*, who was besieging *St. Martin's*, caused him with precipitation to raise the siege, and forced him to reembark with great loss of men and honour. 'The duke of *Buckingham* lost in this expedition about fifty officers, near two thousand common soldiers, five-and thirty prisoners of note, and forty-four colours, which were carried to *Paris*, and hung up as trophies in the cathedral there. And thus ended this expedition, with great dishonour to the *English*, and equal glory to the *French*; but in particular to monsieur *Thoiras*, who, for having so bravely, with a handful of men, defended a small fort (for no other is it, tho' our journals and accounts dignify it with the title of a citadel) against a numerous fleet and army, was not long after advanced to the high dignity of a mareschal of *France* (a).—In a letter from (a) *Burchet's* *Denzill Holles*, Esq; afterwards lord *Holles*, to sir *Thomas* naval histo- *Wentworth*, well known by the title of lord *Strafforde*, 7, p. 377. dated *Dorchester*, Nov. 19, 1627, we have the following account of this unhappy expedition.

— 'God hath blessed us better than we deserve, or, by our preparations, than we could expect, or else we had been in a far worse condition than now we are, though we be sufficiently bad; for it was a thousand to one we had lost all our ships, to close up this unfortunate action, if a fair wind had not so opportunely come to have brought them off; for they had but ten days victuals left, which failing, they must have submitted themselves to the enemies mercy, who besides were preparing with long-boats to have come and fired them, which was marvellous feasible, if they had staid never so little longer. For the particulars of their most shameful deroute upon their retreat, which is, or will be, in every body's mouth, I doubt not but you know as well or better than myself. For the action in general,

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
unclosed. Every one knows the shameful  
descent

' neral, one of themselves, who, for his understanding  
 ' and sincerity, I may term also a prophet of their own,  
 ' has given me this censure of it; that it was ill begun,  
 ' worse ordered in every particular, and the success ac-  
 ' cordingly most lamentable: nothing but discontents  
 ' between the general and the most understanding of his  
 ' soldiers, as *Burroughs*, *Courtney*, *Spy*; every thing  
 ' done against the hair, and attempted without probabi-  
 ' lity of success, and there was no hopes of mastering  
 ' the place from the very beginning, especially since  
 ' *Michaelmas*, that a very great supply came at once into  
 ' the fort, and that since they relieved it at their pleasure;  
 ' yet for all this the duke would stay, and would not stay,  
 ' doing things by halves; for had he done either, and  
 ' gone through with it, possibly it could not have been  
 ' so ill as it is: for he removed his ordnance and shipped  
 ' it almost a month afore he raised his siege; yet still  
 ' kept his army there, fit neither for offence nor defence;  
 ' and at the last, the *Saturday* before the unfortunate  
 ' *Monday* he came away, would needs give a general  
 ' assault, where many good men were lost, when there  
 ' was no ordnance to protect them going on or coming  
 ' off. *Et qualis vita, finis ita*, as they behaved them-  
 ' selves while they were there, so did they at their coming  
 ' away; for though they knew two thousand *French*  
 ' landed that morning in the island, and that there was  
 ' at least three thousand in the two forts, the great one  
 ' and the little one, (of which, by the way, we never  
 ' heard; but they thought it not fit we should know all,  
 ' perhaps because they knew secrecy an essential part of  
 ' war-policy) so as they could not but expect to be a  
 ' little troubled with them in their marching, yet made  
 ' they no provision to secure themselves: for being to  
 ' pass by a narrow causeway, (where more than six or eight  
 ' could not go in front, and which a very small number  
 ' might have made good against a million) and so by a  
 ' bridge over a little passage into an island, as it were,  
 ' where once being, they would be safe, there was no  
 ' order

descent at the isle of *Rhee*, and its unhappy  
issue :

‘ order taken for viewing and preparing the way ; that  
 ‘ when they came to it, there was no passage over, so as  
 ‘ their stay there gave a great deal of time and opportu-  
 ‘ nity to the enemy, who all the while followed them at  
 ‘ their heels so close, that my lord duke himself, who, I  
 ‘ know not by what misfortune, was in the rear, had  
 ‘ like to have been snapped, if he had not presently made  
 ‘ way through the troops then upon the narrow causey.  
 ‘ And had he, the general, miscarried, what might have  
 ‘ become, think you, of the whole army, like a body  
 ‘ without a head, or a flock without a shepherd ? But  
 ‘ he carefully got himself on ship-board that night, to  
 ‘ prevent the worst, and to take order for boats for the  
 ‘ shipping of the army ; but so the *French* falling on  
 ‘ upon the rear, killed and took prisoner as they would  
 ‘ themselves, helped by our own horse, who, to save  
 ‘ themselves (which yet they could not do), broke in,  
 ‘ and rid over our men, and put all into disorder, which  
 ‘ made way for the slaughter ; but, it seems, no resist-  
 ‘ ance at all was made, but that they even disbanded,  
 ‘ and shifted every one for himself ; for sure there was no  
 ‘ word of command given to make them face about for  
 ‘ the repulsing of the enemy ; for then it must needs  
 ‘ have gone from hand to hand through the whole  
 ‘ troops : and a serjeant-major, that was in the van, has  
 ‘ protested unto me, they did not so much as know that  
 ‘ any thing had been done, till afterward a pretty while ;  
 ‘ and it had been the easiest thing in the world, in that  
 ‘ narrow place, to have beaten back the enemy, had  
 ‘ they been never so many, or at least to have defended  
 ‘ themselves. But the disorder and confusion was so  
 ‘ great, the truth is, no man can tell what was done,  
 ‘ nor no account can be given how any man was lost,  
 ‘ not the lieutenant-colonel how his colonel, or lieute-  
 ‘ nant how his captain, or any one man knows how  
 ‘ another was lost, which is a sign that things were very  
 ‘ ill carried. This only every man knows, that since  
 ‘ *England* was *England*, it received not so dishonourable  
 ‘ a blow.

issue: nor can any be totally ignorant of the  
poor

(b) Stra-  
forde's let-  
ters and dis-  
patches, vol.  
i. p. 41.  
See also  
Rohan's  
memoirs,  
p. 148-152.

(c) See  
Cabala, p.  
272.

‘ a blow. Four colonels lost, thirty-two colours in the  
‘ enemy’s possession (but more lost), God knows how  
‘ many men slain; they say not above two thousand of  
‘ our side, and, I think, not one of the enemy’s (b).’  
This was, indeed, miserable success! But what better  
could be expected from a man of *Buckingham’s* turn of  
mind? What better from a man ignorant in arts and  
arms, and who was too haughty to follow the advice of  
those who were well versed in affairs, and capable of  
conducting them to advantage? But the defeat of *Buck-*  
*ingham* was not the worst consequence of this war: for  
*Rochelle*, which at first was unwilling to admit the duke  
of *Buckingham*, being persuaded by *Rohan* and *Soubize*,  
the protestant chiefs, declared for the *English*; and, in  
consequence thereof, endured a siege (in which it under-  
went hardships unparalleled in (c) modern story, except  
those of *Isfahan* in the year 1722) which terminated in the  
ruin of its rights, privileges, and power, and wholly sub-  
jected the protestants to the will of the *French* court; for the  
succours sent them from *England* were useless and unprofit-  
able.—‘ Our fleet and troops being gone, the *French* king  
‘ closely blocked up the *Rochellers*, who yet had some de-  
‘ pendence upon the duke of *Buckingham*; for he promised  
‘ them to return to their assistance: and tho’ he did not go  
‘ in person, a fleet of about fifty sail were fitted out, under  
‘ the command of the earl of *Denbigh*, who set sail there-  
‘ with from *Plimouth* the 17th of *April*, 1628, and came  
‘ to an anchor in the road of *Rochelle* the 1st of *May*.  
‘ Before the harbour’s mouth he found twenty of the  
‘ *French* king’s ships, to which he was superior in  
‘ strength, and sent word into the town, that he would  
‘ sink them as soon as the winds and tide would permit;  
‘ but being on the 8th of *May* favoured both by one and  
‘ the other, and the *Rochellers* expecting he would do  
‘ what he had promised, he, without attempting it, re-  
‘ turned to *Plimouth* the 26th, which caused no small  
‘ murmurings and jealousies in *England*. A third fleet  
‘ was prepared for the relief of *Rochelle*, to be com-  
‘ manded



poor figure our fleets made, when sent to  
the

‘manded by the duke himself, the town being then reduced to the last extremities; but he being, on the 23d of *August*, stabbed at *Portsmouth*, by one *Felton*, a discontented officer, the earl of *Lindsey* was appointed to command it, and set sail the 8th of *September*. The ships were but ill supplied with stores and provisions; and coming before *Rochelle*, they found no *French* navy to oppose them, but a very strong barricado across the entry of the port, to force which many brave attempts were made, but in vain; so that the *Rochellers* being thus distressed, and in despair, implored the *French* king’s mercy, and surrendered on the 18th of *October*; soon after which a peace ensued between the two crowns, and the protestants were glad to submit to any terms, with the bare toleration of their religion (d).’ (d) Burchet’s naval history, p. 378. History of the edit of Nantz, vol. ii. p. 443, 4to. Lond. 1694.

What a poor figure did the *English* make in this war! How much fallen was she from her old glory! The king drew in the *French* protestants to the war; he solicited and encouraged them to seize the opportunity for the restitution to their rights and privileges, which then offered itself; he ‘declared he would hazard all his kingdoms, and his own person too, in so just a war, to which he found himself obliged both by conscience and honour, and that he would not listen to any treaty but jointly with them (e).’ But, says the noble author, (e) Rohan’s discourse upon the troubles in France, at the end of his memoirs.

(who bore so great a part in this war) ‘the assistance the town of *Rochelle* had from *England*, served only to consume their provisions, and draw a famine on the city (f).’ And in another place he observes, that (f) Memoirs, p. 224.

peace with *England* being made, the *French* king turned his whole force against the protestants (g); so that, to prevent their destruction, he [*Rohan*] was forced to accept of a disadvantageous peace. For ’tis most certain, that (g) Discourse on the troubles of France, p. 53.

*Charles* deserted the protestants in the war in which he had engaged them, and obtained a peace for himself, which redounded no ways to his honour. Let us hear a writer eminent in the republic of letters. ‘King *Charles*, says he, ‘after a great deal of trouble and vast expences, was

the relief of *Rochelle*; which in spight of  
their

‘ was obliged to make application to the *French*, by the  
‘ *Venetians*, to obtain a disadvantageous peace, which  
‘ drew upon him the contempt of strangers as well as of  
‘ his own subjects. He had endeavoured to accommo-  
‘ date matters with *Lewis XIII.* whilst he was before  
‘ *Rochelle*, by mediation of the ambassadors of the king  
‘ of *Denmark* and the States General of the United Pro-  
‘ vinces: but answer was given to their ambassadors,  
‘ that if they had power from the king of *England* to ask  
‘ a peace for him, and to offer such satisfactions as he  
‘ ought to make to *France* to obtain it, a negotiation  
‘ should be entered into with them, but no otherwise.  
‘ So brisk an answer plainly shewed, that *Charles* was but  
‘ little feared, and that he must be forced in the end to  
‘ come to what *France* demanded. He promised, by the  
‘ treaty, to confirm the articles of the contract of the  
‘ queen’s marriage, which he had so many times broken  
‘ and accepted with so much meanness, and which, if  
‘ there was any thing to be altered for the service of the  
‘ queen, was to be done with the consent of both crowns.  
‘ The treaty was signed the 24th of *April*, 1629, by  
‘ *Ludovico Contarini*, and *Zorzo Zorzi*, the ambassadors  
‘ of *Venice*, who were empowered from *England* (b).’—  
‘ Thus, says the baron *Puffendorf*, ended a war against  
‘ two kings [of *France* and *Spain*], whose joint forces  
‘ *Charles* was not able to cope with; by which he gained  
‘ nothing but disreputation, and the dissatisfaction and  
‘ resentment of his people, and an incredible sum of  
‘ debts into the bargain (i).’ In short, his majesty came  
‘ with so little reputation out of this war with *France*,  
‘ that his minister sent there (to carry his ratification of  
‘ the peace, and to receive the oath of the *French* king to  
‘ the observance of it) was derided to his face, as we learn  
‘ from the following passage in one of *Howel’s* letters:—  
‘ Mr. contröler in *Thomas Edmonds* is lately returned  
‘ from *France*, having renewed the peace which was  
‘ made up to his hands before by the *Venetian* ambassa-  
‘ dors, who had much laboured in it, and had concluded  
‘ all

(b) Life of  
Richliet,  
vol. i. p.  
312, 8vo.  
Lond. 1695.

(i) Introduc-  
tion to the  
history, p.  
143, 8vo.  
Lond. 1706.

their efforts was taken, and the power of the protestants in that kingdom thereby greatly weakened. After which *Charles* soon solicited a peace, which he procured by abandoning those whom he had drawn into the war, and submitting to the terms which *Richlieu*, in the name of his master, demanded. After such ill conduct and disgrace, we may well imagine the power of *Charles* was not much dreaded by his neighbours. This he soon found: for the neutrality of his ports was violated both by the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* (GG); his subjects insulted

‘ all things beyond the *Alps*, when the king of *France*  
 ‘ was at *Susa* to relieve *Casal*. The mounseieur that was  
 ‘ to fetch him from *St. Denis* to *Paris*, put a kind of  
 ‘ jeering compliment upon him, viz. That his excel-  
 ‘ lency should not think it strange, that he had so few  
 ‘ *French* gentlemen to attend in this service to accom-  
 ‘ pany him to the court, in regard there were so many  
 ‘ killed in the isle of *Rhee*. The marquis of *Chasteau-*  
 ‘ *neuf* is here from *France*, and it was an odd speech also  
 ‘ from him, reflecting upon Mr. controler, “ That the  
 ‘ king of *Great Britain* used to send for his ambassadors  
 ‘ from abroad to pluck capons at home (k).” These (k) Howel’s  
 ‘ jests must have cut to the quick, had *Charles* been a man letters, p.  
 ‘ of sensibility. But it appears not that he was touched 210.  
 ‘ with them, or had any resentment of them.

(GG) *The neutrality of his ports was violated both by the Spaniards and Dutch.*] ‘ Tho’ enemies may be attacked  
 ‘ or slain on our own ground, or our enemies on the  
 ‘ sea, yet it is not lawful to assault, kill, or spoil him in  
 ‘ a haven or peaceable port; but that proceeds not from  
 ‘ their persons, but from his right, says *Molloy*, who hath  
 ‘ empire there; for civil societies have provided, that no  
 ‘ force

sulted and wronged by them, and also by the  
*French*;

‘ force be used in their countries against men, but that  
 ‘ of law, and where that is open, the right of hurting  
 ‘ ceaseth. The *Carthaginian* fleet was at anchor in  
 ‘ *Syphax’s* port, who at that time was at peace with the  
 ‘ *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; *Scipio* unawares fell into  
 ‘ the same haven: the *Carthaginian* fleet being the  
 ‘ stronger, might easily have destroyed the *Romans*; but  
 ‘ yet they durst not fight them. The like did the *Vene-*  
 ‘ *tian*, who hindered the *Greeks* from assaulting the  
 ‘ *Turkish* fleet, who rid at anchor in a haven then under  
 ‘ the government of the Republick: so when the *Vene-*  
 ‘ *tian* and *Turkish* fleet met at *Tunis*, though that very  
 ‘ port acknowledges the *Ottoman* emperor, yet in regard  
 ‘ that they are in the nature of a free port to themselves,  
 ‘ and those that come there, they would provide for the  
 ‘ peace of the same, and interdicted any hostile attempt  
 ‘ to be made there. But they of *Hamborough* were not  
 ‘ so kind to the *English*, when the *Dutch* fleet [in the first  
 ‘ *Dutch* war in the time of *Charles II.*] fell into their  
 ‘ road, where rid at the same time some *English* mer-  
 ‘ chantmen; whom they assaulted, took, burnt, and  
 ‘ spoiled; for which action, and not preserving the peace  
 ‘ of their port, they were, by the law of nations, ad-  
 ‘ judged to answer the damage; and, I think, have paid  
 ‘ most or all of it since (1).’ And, indeed, nothing is  
 ‘ more reasonable than for sovereigns to afford protection  
 ‘ to the subjects of those princes that are in amity with  
 ‘ them; it being absolutely necessary to the encouragement  
 ‘ of commerce, and the security of such of their own people  
 ‘ who are in foreign parts. None but governments weak  
 ‘ in power or understanding, fail of doing it.—However,  
 ‘ ’tis certain, *Charles* did not, or could not, maintain the  
 ‘ neutrality of his ports, but suffered the subjects of friend-  
 ‘ ly powers to be attacked and taken in them.—Lord *Straf-*  
 ‘ *forde*, in a letter to Mr. secretary *Coke*, dated *Dublin*,  
 ‘ *Aug.* 3, 1633, has the following passage. ‘ I received a  
 ‘ letter from captain *Plumleigh*, which certified, that the  
 ‘ 29th of the last month, a man of war and a shallop,  
 ‘ which

(1) Molloy  
 de jure ma-  
 ritimo, c. i.  
 sect. 10.

French; nor did he ever receive satisfaction  
for

which alledge themselves to be of *St. Sebastian's* in  
*Biscay*, had taken a *Hollander*, lying securely at an  
anchor in *Black Rode* in the mouth of this river, by  
surprisal in the night; and having boarded her, and  
cut her cables in the half, haled her away into the sea,  
the king's ship being all the while within a league, yet  
perceiving nothing till a *Bristol* man, which lay close  
the *Hollander*, and fearing like measure, slipped his  
cable and anchor, and so run off to the king's ship,  
and gave captain *Plumleigh* to understand thus much.  
Whereupon the captain commanded to weigh, and  
setting sail after them, very fortunately light upon the  
pirates about *St. David's-Head*, and recovered the ship  
from them again the last of *July*, bulk not broken, and  
thirteen of the pirates on board her, and had not the  
man of war put from him upon the shoals, he had  
taken him too; but not daring to adventure the king's  
ship for want of water, he escaped. Howbeit, we have  
the *Hollander* here again in harbour, and those fourteen  
taken on board her in this castle, two of them are  
*Irish*, the rest are *Spaniards*. I am of opinion, it will  
prove they have letters of mart from the king of  
*Spain* (m).—And in another letter to the same person, (m) *Straf-*  
dated the 28th of *August*; we have the following passages. *forde's let-*  
—'The *Dutch* trading hither [to *Dublin*] are so dis- *ters and*  
couraged, by reason of the continual depredations of *vol. i. p.*  
these *Biscayners*, as they are ready to leave the kingdom, *100.*  
beginning already to call in their monies and goods,  
and forbear to trade with us; which, considering we  
have here no ships of our own built, nor yet any of the  
natives that give themselves to trade abroad, would in-  
finitely impoverish this state, and wholly overthrow his  
majestie's customs.—I thought further reasonable to  
advertise you, that I hear there is another of the *Bis-*  
*cayners* that lies in the river of *Limerick*, and there took  
a *Dutch* ship in harbour, forcing those merchants to  
ransom their men by payment of 200 *l.* How they  
dealt with two others in the harbour of *Carisfergus*,  
the

for the affront put on him by the *Dutch* admiral,

‘ the letters inclosed of my lords *Claneboy* and *Chichester*  
 ‘ will shew you. There are others of them on *Water-*  
 ‘ *ford* side, and so they begirt us round. I must also  
 ‘ assure you, there are three squadrons of these pilferers  
 ‘ belonging to *St. Sebastian’s*, whereof one squadron is  
 ‘ always in action, another returning, and another is  
 ‘ sitting again to sea; and thus have they put themselves  
 ‘ in a set and continued posture of robbing and spoyling.  
 ‘ These particulars admit no excuse, but that the *Hol-*  
 ‘ *landers* this summer did the like to them in *England*,  
 ‘ taking them from under the king’s castle, for which  
 ‘ as yet they have had no satisfaction, as indeed I confess  
 ‘ it were most meet they should (n).’—And his lordship  
 afterwards speaks of ‘ a barbarous slaughter of six of our  
 ‘ men upon the isle of *Man*, by one of the *Spanish* cap-  
 ‘ tains (o).’—In a letter from *Robert* earl of *Leicester* to  
 Mr. secretary *Coke*, dated *Paris*, 23 Oct. [2d Novemb.]  
 1636, we have the following account of the behaviour  
 of the *Dunkirkers*. ‘ The seas are now dangerous, by  
 ‘ reason of the *Dunkirkers*; and the other day *Battiere*,  
 ‘ my secretary (who hath lately been with your honor),  
 ‘ in his returns between *Rye* and *Deepe*, being in the  
 ‘ *English* passage-boat with my lord *Dacres*, and some  
 ‘ other gentlemen, they were met by the *Dunkirkers*,  
 ‘ who (notwithstanding they were *English*, and provided  
 ‘ with good passports) used violence against them, and  
 ‘ robbed them, taking away from *Battiere*, in particular,  
 ‘ amongst other things, divers letters directed unto me,  
 ‘ and about 50 *l.* in *Spanish* pistoles, which he said was  
 ‘ money committed to his care for *George Hearne*, one  
 ‘ of his majestie’s servants, who was in the same boat,  
 ‘ and rifled also; and if the sight of a *Holland* man of  
 ‘ war had not made them go away, they had used them  
 ‘ worse. The particular declaration, which *Battiere* and  
 ‘ the rest made at *Deepe*, with the master of the boate,  
 ‘ before the lifetenant of the admiraltye, I will send,  
 ‘ God willing, the next week unto ybur honor, that  
 ‘ some order may be taken for the safetie of the passage;  
 ‘ for

(n) Straforde’s letters and dispatches, vol. i. p. 106.

(o) Id. p. 154.

admiral, in destroying the fleet of *Spain* in  
his

‘ for if he had had the king’s packets, it is likely they  
‘ would have runne the same hazard, which are injuries  
‘ not easily to be endured (p).’—Nor was this all. Eng- (p) Sydney’s  
land now was in a low state, and as such was ill-treated state-papers,  
by her neighbours around her. For the *French* bore hard vol. ii. p.  
on the merchants of this kingdom, as well as the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*. 435.  
‘ It is most true,’ says lord *Leicester*,  
then ambassador in *France*, in a letter to Mr. secretary  
*Coke*, dated  $\frac{26}{9}$  September, 1636, ‘ that the *French* com-  
mit frequent and unsufferable insolencies upon the  
‘ *English*, and protect them with injustices as great. His  
‘ majestie’s ministers may sollicite, and many times pre-  
‘ vaile; but yet the merchant will be a loser, even in the  
‘ restitution, and that will make them so afraid, that  
‘ certainly the trade must needs suffer exceedingly, espe-  
‘ cially if the *French* persist in this dealing; which is  
‘ little better than treachery, to take the *English* ships  
‘ that are laden, in their own portes of *France*: there-  
‘ fore, sir, I could advise, whensoever any *English* ship  
‘ is taken by the *French*, and the owners have sufficiently  
‘ proved in our admiralty, or the place where it may  
‘ authentically be done, that the said ship was unjustly  
‘ taken, and that, upon remonstrance of the same unto  
‘ this state, justice be delayed, that then his majesty will  
‘ be pleased to give his officers, which command at sea,  
‘ orders to take the *French* where they can find them, or  
‘ give leave to his *English* subjects, to satisfie themselves  
‘ by reprizal; and when that is done, let us complayne  
‘ and redresse on both sides, which, I beleieve, will both  
‘ procure satisfaction speedily, deterre those compa-  
‘ nions from such free exercise of their pyratrical trade,  
‘ and force those that are in authority here, to take better  
‘ order than hitherto hath bin. This is, and hath ever  
‘ bin my opinion; for I could never find, that, by  
‘ treating and pleading, any good can be done upon those  
‘ who have neither conscience or justice (q).’ This was (q) Id. p.  
bravely spoken; but the dictates of wisdom and fortitude 422.  
were unheeded, at least unpractised, under the reign of

his harbour, contrary to his express command. The particulars of this affair, as they are not commonly known, I will give in the note (HH).

In

this prince, who permitted himself grossly to be abused by the nations around him, as we shall see more at large in some following notes. In the mean while, one cannot but observe the national character of the *French* so strongly marked in this letter of lord *Leicester*. It paints them to the life, and shews them as in our age we have seen them. May we always be on the guard against those who have neither conscience or justice, and with whom no good is to be done by treating or pleading.

(HH) *The particulars of this affair, as they are not commonly known, &c.]* 'In 1639,' says Mr. Burchet, 'the *Spaniards* fitted out a considerable fleet under the command of *Antonio de Oquendo*, supposed to be to dislodge the *Dutch* ships from before *Dunkirk*, and land the troops there for the relief of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Spanish* provinces.—The *Dutch* having two or three squadrons at sea, the *Spanish* fleet, coming up the Channel, was met near the straits of *Dover* by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of *Herbert Van Tromp*; who, notwithstanding the enemies great superiority, ventured to attack them; but finding himself too weak, got to windward, sailing along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing guns as a signal to the *Dutch* vice-admiral, who lay off that place, to come to his assistance; who accordingly joined him the next morning between *Dover* and *Calais*, where engaging the *Spaniards*, a very sharp fight ensued between them, which lasted several hours, wherein the *Dutch* had greatly the advantage; and having taken one galleon, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, at length forced them upon the *English* coast near *Dover*. This done, *Tromp*, being in want of powder and ball, stood away for *Calais*, to borrow some of the governour of that place; who presently



In short, the reputation of the *English* nation, as Mr. *Burchet* observes, had suffered  
so

‘ sently supplying him with what he demanded, he re-  
‘ turned again to *Dover*; upon whose approach the *Spa-*  
‘ *niards* got within the *South-foreland*, and put them-  
‘ selves under the protection of the neighbouring castles.  
‘ The two fleets continuing in this posture for many  
‘ days observing each other, the ministers of both nations  
‘ were not less employed in watching each other’s mo-  
‘ tions at *Whitehall*, and encountering one another with  
‘ memorials. The *Spanish* resident importuned the king,  
‘ that he would keep the *Hollanders* in subjection two  
‘ tides, that so, in the interim, the others might have  
‘ the opportunity of making away for *Spain*: but the  
‘ king being in amity with them both, was resolved to  
‘ stand neuter; and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired  
‘ some *English* ships to transport their soldiers to *Dunkirk*,  
‘ upon complaint made thereof by the *Dutch* ambassador,  
‘ strict orders were given that no ships or vessels belong-  
‘ ing to his majesty’s subjects should take any *Spaniards*  
‘ on board, or pass below *Gravesend*, without licence:  
‘ however, after great plotting and counterplotting on  
‘ both sides, the *Spaniard* at length somewhat outwitted  
‘ his enemy, and found means, by a stratagem, in the  
‘ night, to convey away through the *Downs*, round by  
‘ the *North-sand-head* and the back of the *Goodwin*,  
‘ twelve large ships to *Dunkirk*, and in them four thou-  
‘ sand men; in excuse of which gross neglect of the  
‘ *Dutch* admirals, in leaving that avenue from the *Downs*  
‘ unguarded, the *Dutch* accounts say they were assured  
‘ by the *English*, that no ships of any considerable burden  
‘ could venture by night to fail that way. The two  
‘ fleets had now continued in their station near three  
‘ weeks, when king *Charles* sent the earl of *Arundel* to  
‘ the admiral of *Spain*, to desire him to retreat upon the  
‘ first fair wind; but by this time the *Dutch* fleet was, by  
‘ continual reinforcements from *Zealand* and *Holland*,  
‘ increased to a hundred sail, and seeming disposed to

so much by the miscarriages in the beginning  
of

‘ attack their enemies, sir *John Pennington*, admiral of  
 ‘ his majestie’s fleet, who lay in the *Downs* with four and  
 ‘ thirty men of war, acquainted the *Dutch* admiral, that  
 ‘ he had received orders to act in defence of either of  
 ‘ the two parties who should be first attacked. The  
 ‘ *Spaniards*, however, growing too presumptuous on the  
 ‘ protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired some  
 ‘ shot at *Van Tromp*’s barge, when he was himself in  
 ‘ her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board  
 ‘ one of the *Dutch* ships, whose dead body was presently  
 ‘ sent on board sir *John Pennington*, as a proof that the  
 ‘ *Spaniards* were the first aggressors, and had violated  
 ‘ the neutrality of the king of *England*’s harbour. Soon  
 ‘ after which the *Dutch* admiral came to a resolution of  
 ‘ attacking the *Spaniards*; but before he put it in exe-  
 ‘ cution, he thought fit to write to admiral *Pennington*,  
 ‘ telling him, that the *Spaniards* having, in the instances  
 ‘ before mentioned, infringed the liberties of the king’s  
 ‘ harbour, and become the aggressors, he found himself  
 ‘ obliged to retaliate force with force, and attack them;  
 ‘ in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to  
 ‘ him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his as-  
 ‘ sistance; which, however, if he should not be pleased  
 ‘ to grant, he prayed the favour that he would at least  
 ‘ give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he  
 ‘ should have just cause of complaint to all the world of  
 ‘ so manifest an injury. This letter being delivered to  
 ‘ the *English* admiral, *Van Tromp* bore up to the *Spa-*  
 ‘ *niards* in six divisions, and charged them so furiously  
 ‘ with his broadsides, and his fireships, as forced them  
 ‘ all to cut their cables; and being three and fifty in  
 ‘ number, twenty-three ran ashore and stranded in the  
 ‘ *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two  
 ‘ perished on the shore; one of which was a great gal-  
 ‘ leon (the vice-admiral of *Galicia*), commanded by  
 ‘ *Antonio de Castro*, and mounted with fifty-two brass  
 ‘ guns: the remainder of the twenty-three stranded,  
 ‘ and deserted by the *Spaniards*, were manned by the  
 ‘ *English*,

# The LIFE of CHARLES I.

151

of the reign of *Charles*, that pirates of all  
the

‘ *English*, to save them from the *Dutch*. The other  
 ‘ thirty *Spanish* ships, with Don *Antonio de Oquendo*, the  
 ‘ commander in chief, and *Lopez*, admiral of *Portugal*,  
 ‘ got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog  
 ‘ arising, the *Dutch* took advantage thereof, interposed  
 ‘ between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them  
 ‘ valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of  
 ‘ *Portugal* began to flame, being fired by two *Dutch* ships  
 ‘ fitted for that purpose, which *de Oquendo* perceiving,  
 ‘ presently stood away for *Dunkirk*, with the admiral of  
 ‘ that place, and some few ships more; for of these  
 ‘ thirty, five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and  
 ‘ sent into *Holland*, three perished upon the coast of  
 ‘ *France*, one near *Dover*, and only ten escaped. I have  
 ‘ been the more particular in the account of this engage-  
 ‘ ment, because of, the relation it hath to our own affairs,  
 ‘ and have reported it in all its circumstances (the most  
 ‘ material of which have been omitted, even in that  
 ‘ said to be sir *John Pennington*’s own account of it), for  
 ‘ that otherwise the *English* government would appear to  
 ‘ have departed from the common rights of all nations,  
 ‘ in suffering one friend to destroy another within its  
 ‘ chambers, and not animadverting upon the *Dutch* for  
 ‘ that proceeding, did it not appear that the *Spaniards*  
 ‘ committed the first hostility, which was the plea the  
 ‘ others made in their justification: for though, by the  
 ‘ law of nations, I am not to attack my enemy in the  
 ‘ dominions of a friend common to that enemy and my-  
 ‘ self, yet no laws, natural, divine, or human, forbid me  
 ‘ to repel force with force, and act in my defence, when  
 ‘ or wheresoever I am attacked. But, however, it must  
 ‘ be confessed the *Dutch* well knew their time; and had  
 ‘ the like circumstances happened twelve or fourteen  
 ‘ years after, when the usurper ruled, they would pro-  
 ‘ bably have waited for further hostilities from their  
 ‘ enemy (one or two random shot only being liable to  
 ‘ exception, and to be excused as accidental), before they  
 ‘ had ventured upon such an action (r).’—But whether  
 the

(r) Burchet’s  
 naval histo-  
 ry, p. 279--  
 281. See  
 also Whit-  
 lock’s me-  
 morials, p.  
 31.

*The LIFE of CHARLES I.*  
neighbouring nations took the liberty to in-  
fest

the *Spaniards* had committed the first hostility or no, the *Dutch* admiral would certainly have attacked them, as appears from the following passages in a letter from count *D'estrades* to cardinal *Richlieu*, dated *Aug. 26, 1639*.

'The prince [of *Orange*] desired that I should write to you, that the orders you had sent to the sea-ports of *France* to assist the fleet of the States, had determined him to fight the *Spanish* fleet in the *Downs*, whither he had certain advice they would repair, and give orders to admiral *Tromp* not to engage so soon; but to detach a squadron, in order to harraiss such as he found separate from the main body of the fleet, and to follow them close until they should get into the *Downs*, and then to draw up his fleet in a line of battle in the entry to the *Downs*, there to wait till such time the admiral of *Zealand*, *John Evreffens*, should join him; after which he should send a flag-officer to the admiral of *England*, to acquaint him, that he had orders from the States to fight their enemy wherever he should find them, and to desire him to withdraw the king of *England's* ships, as he had orders from the States not to engage with them, unless they should join themselves to the enemy; but in case they would not remain neuter, his orders were to fight both one and the other.' His orders were well executed, and an action performed (in the opinion of *D'estrades*) 'the most illustrious which could be thought of, that of defeating the fleet of *Spain* in an *English* port, though assisted by *English* ships (s).'

(s) *D'estrades's* letters and negotiations, p. 29, 8vo. Lond. 1755.

It will be proper to compare this with what follows, contained in a letter from *Algernon* earl of *Northumberland*, to *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, dated *Windfor, Oct. 10, 1639*. 'His majestie's designs are a little to be wondered at; that he should endanger the receiving an affront, and expose his ships to much hazard, rather than commaund both the *Spanish* and *Holland* fleets out of the *Downs*. He sayeth now, that at his return to *London* on *Saturday* next, he will appoint a time for them to depart out of his roade, which is all the *Hol-landers*

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I. 153  
 felt the narrow seas; yea, the ships and  
 coasts

‘landers desire. They have at this instant above one  
 ‘hundred sail of men of warre, besides fyre-ships: this  
 ‘great force of theirs, makes them begin to talk more  
 ‘boldly than hitherto they have donne; for their admiral  
 ‘hath lately sent *Pennington* word, that they have al-  
 ‘readie had patience enough, and that they will no  
 ‘longer forbear; for his instructions are to destroy his  
 ‘enemies wheresoever he can find them, without ex-  
 ‘ceptions of any place; and it is howlerly expected that  
 ‘they should assault the Dons. What will become of  
 ‘our six ships that are there, I know not; for their  
 ‘direction is to assist those that are assaulted. The other  
 ‘ships that were made ready on this occasion, have layn  
 ‘windbound in the river these ten days, and cannot yet  
 ‘possiblie get out, by reason of the easterly winds that  
 ‘have blowne constantly neare three weeks. The *Spa-*  
 ‘*niards* pretended, that the want of powder was a prin-  
 ‘cipal cause of their long stay: whereupon the *Holland*  
 ‘admiral sent to offer them 500 barrels, paying for it  
 ‘the usual rates; but the *Spaniards* would not accept of  
 ‘it (r).’—In a letter written to the same, Nov. 28, 1639, (r) Sidney’s  
 from *London*, he says, ‘On Sunday last *Arssens* [the state-papers,  
 ‘*Dutch* ambassador] had a private audience from the vol. ii. p.  
 ‘king. It was expected that he should have made an 612.  
 ‘apologie to have given his majestie satisfaction for the  
 ‘late violation offered by them in the *Downs*; but I do  
 ‘not hear that he mentioned that particular (u).’ And (u) Id. p.  
 in a third letter, written by him to lord *Leicester*, from 620.  
*London*, Dec. 19, 1639, he says, ‘The expresse sent  
 ‘from hence to *Spaine* with the newse of the defeate of  
 ‘their fleete, returned to this court some days since;  
 ‘and upon Sunday last the dispatches brought by him  
 ‘from sir *Arthur Hopton*, were communicated to the  
 ‘foreign committee. Those letters say, that this mes-  
 ‘senger brought to *Madrid* the first newse of that over-  
 ‘throw, which much troubled them; but the conde of  
 ‘*Olivares* told our ambassador, that if our king would  
 ‘be sensible of the affront done unto him, in this action,  
 ‘by

coasts of these islands were exposed to the rapine and barbarity of the *Turks* (11), who carried numbers into captivity.—So feeble was

(11) Sydney's  
state-papers,  
vol. ii. p.  
625.

‘ by those base people, the king of *Spain* would rest well satisfied, and not at all regard the losse of those ships; for the next year they intended to have five times as many in these seas as were in that fleete. *Arssens* hath, since my last writing to your lordship, excused with the best reasons he could bring, the carriage of their admiral in the *Downs* (w).’—‘Tis, I think, plain, from comparing these relations, that the behaviour of the *Dutch* in this affair arose chiefly from the consideration of the weakness of *Charles*. The *English* court considered it as an insult: they expected an apology for it; and the *Dutch* ambassador made the best excuse he was able, which, probably, was but a very poor one. A spirited prince would have had a satisfaction as public as the injury itself, and thereby have shewn the world that he was worthy of the sovereignty of those seas which he claimed. May it never again be the fate of the *British* nation to be thus treated; but may it always assert its rights, and avenge itself on those who shall presume to set its power at defiance! Wise and honest counsels, public œconomy, vigorous measures, and a regard to the subjects liberty, will enable a *British* king to render himself respectable to his fellow sovereigns, and effectually hinder them from treating him with contempt, either by words or actions. Heaven grant such a prince may be the lot of this island at all times!

(11) *The ships of these islands were exposed to the rapine and barbarity of the Turks.*] I will confirm this by authorities most unexceptionable. Lord *Wentworth*, appointed lord-deputy of *Ireland*, in a letter to the lord-treasurer, dated *Westminster*, 9th June, 1633, writes as follows: ‘ They write me lamentable news forth of *Ireland*, what spoil is done there by the pirates. There is one lyes upon the *Welch* coast, which it seems is the  
‘ great-

was the government, or so careless of the welfare of the people!

How-

‘ greatest vessel, commanded by *Norman*: another in a  
 ‘ vessel of some sixty tons, called the *Pickpocket of Dover*,  
 ‘ lies in sight of *Dublin*: and another lies near *Youghall*,  
 ‘ who do so infest every quarter, as the farmers have al-  
 ‘ ready lost in their customs a thousand pounds at least:  
 ‘ all trade being by this means at a stand. The pirate  
 ‘ that lyes before *Dublin*, took, on the 20th of the last  
 ‘ month, a bark of *Liverpool*, with goods worth 4000 *l*.  
 ‘ and amongst them as much linnen as cost me 500 *l*.  
 ‘ and in good faith, I fear I have lost my apparel too;  
 ‘ which if it be so, will be as much loss more unto me:  
 ‘ besides the inconvenience which lights upon me, by  
 ‘ being disappointed of my provisions upon the place.  
 ‘ By my faith, this is but a cold welcome they bring me  
 ‘ withall to that coast, and yet I am glad at least that  
 ‘ they escaped my plate; but the fear I had to be thought  
 ‘ to linger here unprofitably, forced me to make this  
 ‘ venture; where now I wish I had had a little more  
 ‘ care of my goods, as well as of my person. The same  
 ‘ villain set upon a *Dutchman* the 19th of the same  
 ‘ month, and boarded her; but they defended themselves  
 ‘ so well, as having blown up four of his men, the pirate  
 ‘ gave them over: but in revenge he light of another  
 ‘ *Hollander*, on the one and twentieth day, and pursued  
 ‘ her so near, as enforced them to run on ground, to save  
 ‘ themselves within sight of *Dublin*. The pirate, for all  
 ‘ that, gave them not over; but in despite of all the  
 ‘ help the lords justices could give them from land (by  
 ‘ sending men to beat him off the shore), entered and  
 ‘ rifled the bark, taking out what they pleased, setting  
 ‘ her on fire, so as there she burnt two days together,  
 ‘ till it came to the water, and was then all in a flame,  
 ‘ when my cousin *Radcliffe* writ me that letter, to be  
 ‘ seen forth of his majesty’s castle. She was about two  
 ‘ hundred tun in content. The loss and misery of this  
 ‘ is not so great, as the scorn that such a picking villain  
 ‘ as this, should dare to do these insolences in the face of  
 ‘ that

However, in justice to the memory of this prince, the reader ought to be informed, that

(x) Strafforde's letters and dispatches, vol. i. p. 90.

‘ that state, and to pass away without controul: yet I  
 ‘ beseech your lordship, give me leave to tell you once  
 ‘ for all, that if there be not a more timely and constant  
 ‘ course held hereafter in setting forth the ships for guard-  
 ‘ ing the coast there, by the admiralty here, the money  
 ‘ paid for that purpose thence, is absolutely cast away;  
 ‘ the farmers of the customs will be directly undone,  
 ‘ and the whole kingdom grow beggarly and barbarous,  
 ‘ for want of trade and commerce (x).’ And in another  
 of his letters to Mr. secretary *Coke*, dated 3d June, 1633,  
 we have the following passage. ‘ Here enclosed I have  
 ‘ sent you two letters, by which you will find, what a  
 ‘ disquiet is given to the trades and commerce of that  
 ‘ kingdom, through the daily robbing and spoil the py-  
 ‘ rates do upon the subjects in those parts, so as it were  
 ‘ madness in me to think of crossing the sea, without  
 ‘ captain *Plumleigh* to carry me and my company over  
 ‘ in safety. The pyrate hath already light of two hun-  
 ‘ dred pounds of my goods; but I should be sorry indeed  
 ‘ his majesty’s deputy were endangered through my un-  
 ‘ timely haste, and, which is more, my master’s honour  
 ‘ suffer thereby over all *Christendom*, in which relation I  
 ‘ hold myself more bound to look to myself, than I neither  
 ‘ suffer nor do any mean thing, than in any other respect  
 ‘ whatsoever, to my own private. Captain *Plumleigh* is  
 ‘ now at length got forth of the river, which, I am sure,  
 ‘ I have by all means solicited the dispatch of, and have  
 ‘ at length been forced to lay forth seven hundred pounds  
 ‘ of my own money to set him forward, so far I am from  
 ‘ studying unnecessary delays; and now, God willing,  
 ‘ so soon as ever I shall have notice that the king’s ship  
 ‘ is ready to carry me over, I will not stay a minute of  
 ‘ time in this place; but to stir before were of no use at  
 ‘ all, saving to put an unnecessary charge upon his ma-  
 ‘ jesty by my bills of transportation (y).’ How low in  
 these times was the *British* marine! how little regarded  
 its power! But to go on.—The lords justices of *Ire-*  
*land,*

(y) Id. p. 87.



land, in a letter to the lord-deputy, dated *Dublin, Feb.*  
26, 1631, acquaints him, ' That they had lately, by  
' their letters, humbly represented to the lords of his ma-  
' jesty's most honourable privy-council, certain intelli-  
' gences which they had received of attempts intended  
' by the *Turks* the next summer, against the western  
' coasts of *Munster*. Since which dispatch, say they, we  
' have received further advertizements which confirm us  
' in a belief that they do indeed intend some attempt  
' against us. And although the place of their descent  
' here is yet uncertain, yet we find reason to conceive  
' that *Baltimore* (a weak *English* corporation on the sea-  
' coast, in the west part of that province, whence the  
' *Turks* took the last summer above a hundred *English*  
' inhabitants) is not the most unlikely place they may  
' attempt (z).—And the lord-deputy *Wentworth*, in a <sup>(z) Straf-</sup>  
letter to *Laud*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, dated *Gawthorp*, <sup>forde's let-</sup>  
*Aug. 17*, 1636, writes as follows: ' The pillage the <sup>ters and dis-</sup>  
*Turks* have done upon the coast is most insufferable, <sup>patches, vol.</sup>  
' and to have our subjects thus ravished from us, and at <sup>i. p. 68.</sup>  
' after to be from *Rochelle* driven over land in chains to  
' *Marseilles*, all this under the sun, is the most infamous  
' usage of a christian king, by him suffered that wears  
' most christian in his title, that I think was ever heard  
' of. Surely I am of opinion, if this be past over in  
' silence, the shipping business will not only be much  
' backened by it, but the sovereignty of the narrow seas  
' become an empty title, and all our trade in fine utterly  
' lost (a).<sup>(a) Id. vol.</sup>

In a letter to Mr. secretary *Coke*, dated *Wentworth*,  
*Sept. 16*, 1636, he has these words also: ' The *Turks*  
' still annoy that coast [the *Irish*]. They came of late  
' into the harbour of *Corke*, took a boat which had eight  
' fishermen in her, and gave chace to two more, which  
' saved themselves amongst the rocks, the townsmen  
' looking on the whilst, without means to help them.  
' This is an oppression to make a wise man mad indeed,  
' that these miscreants should at our doors do us this  
' open

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
of *England* to the dominion of the *British*  
seas,

(b) Strafford's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 34.

(c) Memoirs, p. 50.

(d) Waller's poems, &c. by Fenton, p. 271, 8vo. Lond. 1730.

(e) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 92, 276.

(f) Symon's vindication of K. Charles, p. 110.

‘ open dishonour, and will require both a speedy and thorough remedy, such as may carry our safety along with it for the future, it being most certain, that visibly already, there will be at the least seven or eight thousand pounds loss in those customs this half year; and if this should continue but one year more, would prejudice the trade of both kingdoms, more than I fear could be repaired in many years again, with extream prejudice to the crown, more than is yet foreseen (b).’ Sir Philip Warwick also observes, ‘ that the Argier pirats infested our seas, even in our own channel (c).’ They even made such captures, that, according to Mr. Waller, they ‘ had in the year 1641, between four and five thousand of our countrymen captives in that countrey (d).’ No wonder then the house of commons appointed ‘ a committee to receive, and to take into consideration, the petitions that are or shall be preferred on the behalf of the prisoners and captives of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, or elsewhere, under the *Turks* dominions, and to present the state of them to the house, and some speedy way for their redress.’ This was on the 10th of Decemb. 1640. ‘ On May 24th, 1641, upon Mr. King’s report from the committee for the captives of *Algiers*, it was resolved, that his majesty be moved to send some fit person, at the charge of the merchants, to the Grand Signior, to demand the *English* captives in *Algiers*, and other the *Turks* dominions; and that in some convenient time after such person’s departure out of *England*, a fleet of twenty ships and pinances be sent to *Algiers*, to assail the town and their ships, if the captives be not delivered upon demand (e).’ A resolution this, worthy of the representatives of a brave and free people! But through the hurry of the times, and the calamities of the civil war which ensued, it came to nothing, and the *Turks* continued their depredations: for ‘ in July, 1645, twenty-six children were taken at once by the *Turks* from off the coasts of *Cornwall* (f).’

So

seas, by compelling the *Dutch* to buy the liberty of fishing in them (κκ): and also that he

So little was the security for property and liberty, under the reign of this monarch.

(κκ) *He asserted the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the British seas, by compelling the Dutch to buy the liberty of fishing in them.*] ‘The Dutch, upon pretence of some arguments for the freedom of navigation, and community of the sea, which the learned *Hugo Grotius*, their countryman, had made use of in a treatise, stiled *Mare Liberum*, began to challenge a right to the fishery on our coasts, which, by the connivance of our princes, they had been tolerated in the use of. To refute those arguments of their’s, and defend that claim of our’s, the famous Mr. *Selden* was employed by the king to write his excellent *Mari Clausum*, wherein he having with great industry, learning, and judgment, asserted the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the *British* seas, the king paid such honour to the performance, that shortly after the publication, he made an order in council, that one of those books should be kept in the council-chest, another in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, as a faithful and strong evidence to the dominion of the *British* sea. But more effectually to assert the same, a fleet of sixty stout ships of war was, the same year [1636], fitted out under the command of *Algernon*, earl of *Northumberland*, now made lord high admiral, who sailing to the northward, where the *Dutch* busses were fishing on our coasts, required them to desist; which they not readily doing, he fired at them, took and burnt some, and dispersed the rest; whereupon the *Dutch* solicited the admiral to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fishing this summer, for which they would pay to his majesty thirty thousand pounds; and they accordingly did so, and signified their inclination to have a grant from the king to do the like for the future, (g) Burchet’s upon paying a yearly tribute (g).’—Sir Philip Warwick naval histo-

also 77, p. 379.

he refused to promise a neutrality with regard to

also writes, ' that the earl of *Northumberland* was, in the year 1636, sent out to sea with a navy of about sixty ships, to interrupt the *Holland* fishing on our coast and on the north seas: he took many of their busses, and dispersed others; which brought the States General to make such an application to the king, as might in the future obtain his licence and permission, which the king conceived a vindication of his right and dominion. Yet tho' some particular busses paid for their licences, the terms of agreement were like nails well driven, but not well clincht; so as our neighbours were not fast held, and it made them more susceptible of obstinate counsels from *France*, who were at that time undermining our peace by *Scotland* (b).—The *English* court, indeed, imagined that the *French* encouraged the *Dutch* in their fishing on our coasts, and by its ambassador complained thereof at *Paris*. The *French* denied what they were charged with, and declared ' that if any thing should happen, which might cause difference between the king of *Great Britain* and the *Hollanders*, they would interpose, and do the best they could to bring the *Hollanders* to perform all such acts unto the king, as might express their respect and honor unto his person, and gratitude to his crown, for the obligations they had received, even as great as their conservation amounted to (i).' But these were only words. The *Dutch*, though disturbed in their fishing, and obliged to pay a sum of money to the king, for his permission to go quietly on with it for the present, continued the same afterwards, without deigning to accept of the licences offered. For what Mr. *Burchet* and sir *Philip Warwick* write about " their signifying their inclination to have a grant from the king to fish for the future, upon paying a yearly tribute; and their application that they might in the future obtain his licence and permission so to do," is a mistake; as will appear from the following passage, in a letter from the reverend Mr. *Garrard*, (a great correspondent of lord *Strafforde's*, and very intimate with the

(b) *Memoirs*,  
p. 118.

(i) *Sidney's state-papers*, p. 400.

to *Flanders*, when it was intended to have been

the earl of *Northumberland*) to the lord-deputy of *Ireland*, dated *Sion*, Oct. 9, 1637. ‘Little hath the king’s fleet, under the command of my lord of *Northumberland*, done this summer at sea. The *Dutch* absolutely refused to take licences for their fishing, although now it is said, they were never offered them; yet all know that captain *Fielding* was sent into the *Scottish* seas in the end of *July* to offer them. Had the whole fleet come, perhaps they would not have refused; but they knew well enough that one ship could not force them, they having twenty men of war of their own to guard them (k).’

The times were much altered, we may see by this, since the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; when sir *Walter Raleigh* assures us, he remembered one ship of her majesty’s would have made forty *Hollanders* strike sail, and to come to anchor. ‘They did not then,’ says that admirable man, ‘dispute *de Mari Libero*, but readily acknowledged the *English* to be *Domini Maris Britannici* (l).’ So true is the observation of cardinal *Rich-lieu*, ‘that the empire of the sea was never well secured to any. It has, adds he, been subject to divers revolutions, according to the inconstancy of its nature; so subject to the wind, that it submits to him who courts it most, and whose power is so unbounded that he is in a condition to possess it with violence, against all those who might dispute it with him. In a word, the old titles of that dominion are force, and not reason: a prince must be powerful, to pretend to that heritage (m).’—It appears from the foregoing letter of Mr. *Garrard*’s, that this affair with the *Dutch*, was in 1637, not in 1636, as the authors I have quoted above affirm.

This disturbing the *Dutch* fishing buffes, naturally leads me to observe, that the erecting and encouraging a *British* herring-fishery, in opposition to, or imitation of the *Dutch*, has been recommended by the best patriots, from sir *Walter Raleigh*’s to the present time. ‘It has been all along a most unaccountable negligence in the

(k) *Straforde*’s letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 117.

(l) *Raleigh*’s works, vol. ii. p. 83, 8vo. Lond. 1751.

(m) *Rich-lieu*’s political testament, part ii. p. 81, 8vo. Lond. 1695.

been divided by the *French* and *Dutch*,  
though

‘ people of *England*, that we have not made some effect-  
‘ tual endeavours to share with our neighbours, in that  
‘ immense treasure with which nature has enriched our  
‘ coast.—Sir *Walter Raleigh* has laid down, that the  
‘ fishery turns to ten millions *per annum* profit to the  
‘ *Hollanders*. We can by no means agree to that cal-  
‘ culation; but that ’tis very gainful to their country, is  
‘ apparent to any one who has inquired into the nature  
‘ of their trade, and foundation of their wealth. Those  
‘ great advantages are made on our coast, where formerly  
‘ they never fished without licence under the great seal  
‘ of *England*, which, till the latter end of king *James*  
‘ the First’s reign, they always procured; but now they  
‘ are so far from asking leave, that they will not suffer  
‘ any *English* vessels to fish in quiet, when they come  
‘ among them. This beneficial trade, which the *Hol-*  
‘ *landers* have often, in their edicts, called the golden  
‘ mine of the commonwealth, we first by remissness let  
‘ them gain; and now they have in a manner engrossed  
‘ it to themselves, because it never had encouragement  
‘ from the government here, and because the public  
‘ spirit has been wanting among us, by which any great  
‘ work must be brought about (n).’ But public spirit  
in our days, with regard to this fishery, has exerted itself,  
and the government has given it encouragement; and  
yet, after all, there are still understanding men to be  
found, who think that it is not possible for us to have  
any part with our neighbours in this gainful business.  
For it is ‘ alledged, the *Hollanders* build cheaper than  
‘ we; that their wages are lower; that they live at less  
‘ expence; that the interest of money is higher here  
‘ than there; that consequently they can afford the  
‘ commodity at an easier rate; and that he who sells  
‘ cheapest is sure to engross the market (o).’ ’Tis to be  
hoped the bounty of the government, and the zeal of  
the gentlemen concerned in so truly laudable an under-  
taking, will render these objections invalid, and evidence  
to all, that we are capable of making a right use of what  
heaven

(n) Davenant’s discourses on the publick revenues, part ii. p. 135, 8vo. Lond. 1698.

(o) Id. p. 136.

though he was requested by *Richlieu* most earnestly so to do, and great seeming advantages proposed to him, to bring him to a compliance (LL).

To

heaven has so bountifully bestowed upon us. The *British* fishery, could it once be firmly established, would be a fine nursery for seamen, an employment for the poor, and a source of wealth to these kingdoms, greater than by many can well be imagined. As such may it have the good wishes, and assistance of all true lovers of their country.

(LL) *He refused to promise a neutrality with regard to Flanders, &c.*] In the instructions of cardinal *Richlieu* to count *d'Estrades*, on his being sent into *England* by *Lewis XIII.* dated *Rouel, Nov. 12, 1637*, he tells him, ' he caused him to be sent into *England* on the part of ' his majesty, with a design to dispose the king of *Eng-* ' land not to furnish any succours to the towns on the ' coast of *Flanders*, in case the king and the prince of ' *Orange* should attack any of them during this cam- ' paign.'—He moreover adds, ' as the States [*of Hol-* ' land] have as much concern as the king to have this ' point cleared up, the sieur *Vaussebergue* will embark at ' the same time as the count *d'Estrades* sets out from ' hence, in order to repair to *London*, and confer with ' the king of *England* on the same subject (p).'

*D'Estrades* arrived in *London* on the 19th of the same month; and in a letter to the cardinal, dated the 24th, gave him an account of his success in the words following. ' I was received very graciously by the king of ' *England*, and spoke to him agreeable to the orders I ' received from your eminence, and represented to him ' all the advantages he would receive from a strict friend- ' ship with the king, by complying with his request, by ' which his subjects would reap very great advantages by ' furnishing the armies with necessaries, which would ' bring a great deal of money into *England*; and that ' being master of the sea, and remaining neutral, even

(p) Letters and negotiations of count *d'Estrades*, p. 1, 3; and *d'Orlean's* history of the revolutions of *England*, p. 25, 8vo. *London, 1711.*

To these instances of *Charles's* regard to the honour and interest of the *British* crown,  
I will

' the *Spanish* army, as the whole country of *Flanders*,  
' must be supplied by the *English* shipping: that your  
' eminence had commanded me to assure him, you would  
' contribute all in your power to maintain a strict union  
' and friendship between him and the king, and even to  
' persuade his majesty to lend him succours against any  
' of his subjects that should have bad intentions against  
' him. His answer was, he would do all that was in his  
' power, to testify how much he desired the king's friend-  
' ship, provided that what he asked was of no prejudice  
' to his honour, and the interest of his kingdom; which  
' last would be the case, if he should permit either the  
' king or the states of *Holland* to attack the sea-port  
' towns of *Flanders*: and to prevent this, he would have  
' his fleet in readiness in the *Downs*, in condition to act,  
' with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported into  
' *Flanders*, for the defence of the said towns, if neces-  
' sary: that he thanked your eminence for your offers  
' and civilities; but he wanted no assistance to punish  
' such of his subjects as should fail in their duty, that  
' being sufficiently secured by his own authority, and  
' the laws of the kingdom (q).'

(q) Letters  
and negotia-  
tions of  
count d'E-  
strades, p. 7,  
and d'Or-  
lean's his-  
tory of the  
revolutions  
of England.

This answer was worthy of a *British* monarch, though it so much provoked the cardinal, that his eminence threatened the year should not end, before both the king and queen of *England* should repent their having refused the proposals *d'Estrades* made on the king's part (r). And certain it is, this minister was near as good as his word; for he did what in him lay to heighten the uneasiness of *Charles's* subjects in *Scotland*, and excite them to avenge themselves for the inroads made on their laws, liberties, and religion, by the arbitrary and superstitious commands of those in power; and also contributed greatly to the affront put on him by the *Dutch*, in the eyes of the whole world, when they violated the neutrality of his ports, and destroyed the *Spanish* fleet which had taken sanctuary there. But had *Charles* meanly submitted to the

(r) Id. p. 8.



I will also add an account of the chastisement

the demands of *Richlieu*, matters, I am persuaded, would not have been much mended. The *Scotch* troubles would have happened without the aid of *France*, and the *Dutch* would not have been restrained by the *French* minister from acting as they did: it being of the utmost consequence to them, to break the naval force of *Spain*, and deprive *Flanders* of the supplies which her fleet contained. The imagination, therefore, of a late writer was too much heated, when he observes ' that *Charles* ' lost both his crown and life by refusing to accept of a ' neutrality, so contrary to the trade and interest of his ' kingdom, and the dignity of his crown (s);' and ' that (s) Preface ' from hence was conjured up those black scenes of hor- to the trans- ' ror, blood, anarchy, and confusion, that ensued in dation of ' these kingdoms; the catastrophe of which ended in the d'Estrade's ' destruction of the king, of the church, and of the whole letters, &c. p. 4. ' constitution.' For a little knowledge of the *English* history will suffice to demonstrate, that these had their rise from far other causes than the refusal of this neutrality. However, it cannot be denied, but that it was greatly to *Charles's* honour to answer as he did, and shewed a sense of the interest of the nation. The seaports of *Flanders*, on account of their situation, are of the utmost importance to *England*. To have suffered these quietly to have been possessed by *Holland* and *France*, in the then state of things, would have been the exposing the subjects of these kingdoms to the insults of their commanders at sea, and giving them an opportunity of depriving them of the most valuable branches of commerce, or rendering its effects very precarious. Add to this, that those who are possessed of these places, if masters of a sufficient naval force, have it in their power to alarm us constantly by descents and invasions: and therefore it must be the interest of *England* to take care that they fall not into the hands of those who are our inveterate enemies.

ment he gave to the town of *Salle* (MM), in  
con-

(MM) *I will add an account of the chastisement he gave to the town of Salle.*] Among Mr. Waller's poems, there is one on the taking of *Salle*, in which are the following lines :

*Salle*, that scorn'd all powers and laws of men,  
Goods with their owners hurrying to their den;  
And future ages threatening with a rude  
And savage race, successively renew'd :  
Their king despising with rebellious pride,  
And foes profess'd to all the world beside :  
This pest of mankind gives our hero fame,  
And thro' th' obliged world dilates his name.  
The prophet once to cruel *Agag* said,  
As thy fierce sword has mothers childless made,  
So shall the sword make thine : and with that word  
He hew'd the man in pieces with his sword.  
Just *Charles* like measure has return'd to these,  
Whose pagan hands had stain'd the troubled seas :  
With ships, they made the spoiled merchant mourn ;  
With ships, their city and themselves are torn.  
One squadron of our winged castles sent,  
O'erthrew their fort, and all their navy rent :  
For not content the dangers to increase,  
And act the part of tempests in the seas ;  
Like hungry wolves, those pirates from our shore  
Whole flocks of sheep and ravish'd cattle bore.  
Safely they might on other nations prey ;  
Fools to provoke the sov'reign of the sea !

.....  
*Morocco's* monarch, wond'ring at this fact,  
Save that his presence his affairs exact,  
Had come in person to have seen and known  
The injur'd world's revenger, and his own.  
Hither he sends the chief among his peers,  
Who in his bark proportion'd presents bears,  
To the renown'd for piety and force,  
Poor captives manumiss'd, and matchless horse.

Mr.

conjunction with the king of *Morocco*;  
where-

Mr. *Fenton*, in his observations on Mr. *Waller's* poems, explains these lines in the following manner: ' *Salle* is a city in the province of *Fez*, and derives its name from the river *Sala*, on which it is situated, near its influx into the *Atlantic* ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to the emperor of *Morocco*, in the year 1632, he sent an embassy to king *Charles*, desiring him to send a squadron of men of war to lie before the town, whilst he attacked it by land: which the king consenting to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following the emperor sent another ambassador, with a present of fine *Barbary* horses, and three hundred christian slaves: at the same time desiring his majesty, that since it had pleased God to be so auspicious to their beginning, in the conquest of *Salle*, they might join and succeed, with hope of like success, in war against *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other places, dens and receptacles for the inhuman villanies of those that abhor rule and government (1). ' (1) *Fenton's* observations, p. 19.

Where Mr. *Fenton* had this account I cannot say, he too often neglecting to inform his readers in what authors the facts he relates are to be found.

But be that as it will, 'tis certain the date given by him is wrong; for it was not in 1632, but 1636, that it was determined to send a squadron against *Salle*, and in 1637 it was besieged and taken.—Mr. secretary *Coke*, in a letter to the lord-deputy *Strafforde*, dated *Whitehall*, 20th of *February*, 1636, writes, ' This day captain *Rainsborough*, an experienced and worthy seaman, taketh his leave of his majesty, and goeth instantly to sea, with four good ships and two pinnaces to the coast of *Barbary*, with instructions and resolution to take all *Turkish* pyrates he can meet, and to block up the port of *Sally*, and to free the sea from these rovers, which he is confident to perform. The king of *Morocco* hath already offered to comply with his majesty for sup-

whereby he obtained the liberty of a great num-

(u) Strafforde's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 50.

' preffion of these enemies of mankind; and the Bassha  
' and governors of *Argier* have also written to his ma-  
' jesty, to desire good correspondence with him and his  
' subjects, and to have an *English* consul there to see the  
' agreement performed; so there remaineth only *Sally*,  
' which we presume this summer will be bro't to better  
' terms (u). What the event was, will be seen from  
the following extracts, which, I doubt not, will be agree-  
able to the reader, as they contain some facts hardly  
known to our common historians.—The reverend Mr.  
*Garrard*, in a letter to lord *Strafforde*, dated *Hatfield*,  
*July 24, 1637*, informs him, ' That from the fleet my  
' lord *Northumberland* writes him, that captain *Rainf-*  
' *borough* hath made hitherto a very successful voyage to  
' *Sallee*; neither our *English* coasts, nor your *Irish*, have  
' this year been infested with those *Turkish Moorish* ver-  
' mine, who other years have done much hurt: he keeps  
' them in, that they cannot stir out at sea: besides, the  
' saint there by land besieges them with ten thousand  
' horse and six thousand foot; so that they conceive a  
' great hope to get all the *English* and *Irish* captives in  
' their hands, and to bar them hereafter for venturing in  
' our seas. My lord-general hath obtained longer leave  
' of his majesty for captain *Rainborough* to stay out until  
' the end of *November*, and is now sending a ship and  
' one pinnace to victual him for two months longer (w).'  
In a letter of the 9th of *October* the same year, this gen-  
tleman thus writes to the same lord *Strafforde*. ' The  
' fleet sent to *Sallee* by his majesty, under the conduct of  
' captain *Rainborough*, captain *Cartwright*, and others,  
' consisting of four ships and two pinnaces, hath had  
' good success. So that neither our *English*, nor your *Irish*  
' coasts, shall be troubled any more with them. The  
' *Sallee* men this year had ships in readiness to come  
' forth, of good number, intending their voyage for  
' *England* and *Ireland*, were ready to set sail when our  
' fleet came before the town, but they kept them in.  
' The Saint who lives upon the land, seeing captain  
' *Rainf-*

(w) Id. p. 86.

number of his subjects, who had been taken  
into

' *Rainsborough* besiege them by sea, doth the like by  
 ' land. The *Moors* presently sold away a thousand of  
 ' their captives, our king's subjects, to those of *Tunis*  
 ' and *Argiers*. The Saint and captain *Rainsborough* treat  
 ' and agree to do their best to take the new town: he  
 ' goes ashore, teaches them to mount their cannon, and  
 ' how to use them; the new town thus beset, remove  
 ' their governor, turn him out of town, because of the  
 ' fierce displeasure of the saint against him. He goes to  
 ' the king of *Morocco*, makes his complaint against the  
 ' Saint, (who is indeed but a rebel; for all those places  
 ' of right belong to that king) saith, he will, by the help  
 ' of the *English* fleet, gain the new town. Upon this  
 ' advertisement the king of *Morocco* gathers an army, is  
 ' upon his march, which the Saint hearing, burns up all  
 ' the corn within ten miles of *Sallee*, and spoils the  
 ' country; yet sends him, upon his nearer approach,  
 ' some necessaries for himself, great herds of cows, and  
 ' flocks of sheep, which was a great relief to his army,  
 ' who, with their long marches, were weak and feeble; but  
 ' advises his majesty not to come nearer, lest some dif-  
 ' ferences should arise betwixt their two armies, which  
 ' would not easily be accommodated, should they meet;  
 ' he stays, many of the soldiers fall sick and dye, many  
 ' run away, so that he is resolved to retire, sending the  
 ' governor with some others, and an *English* merchant,  
 ' to treat with the town to deliver it up to him, and not  
 ' to the Saint. They come aboard, captain *Rainsborough*,  
 ' confer with him, then return again into the town.  
 ' The king offers to join in a league with our king, pro-  
 ' mises that never hereafter any of our coasts shall be in-  
 ' fested by their ships, delivers two hundred and ninety  
 ' of our captives to *Rainsborough*, (which captain *Cart-*  
 ' *wright* hath already brought home) saith, that the  
 ' thousand sold away to those of *Argiers* and *Tunis* shall  
 ' be redeemed and delivered back; for which purpose  
 ' captain *Rainsborough* is gone to *Saphy*, forty leagues  
 ' from *Sallee*, to treat for them, and, I believe, by this  
 ' is

into captivity; and by a solemn embassy received

(x) Strafford's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 115.

(y) Id. p. 118.

(z) Id. p. 129.

' is on his way home. They have, since their coming  
' thither, sunk in the harbour, burnt, and battered to  
' pieces, twenty-eight of their ships before the new town,  
' which surely will by the *Moors* be delivered up to the  
' king of *Morocco*, and not to the Saint. How we came  
' off from farther treating with the Saint, I know not;  
' neither the letters nor captain *Cartwright* give any satisfaction therein (x).' Towards the conclusion of this letter Mr. *Garrard* adds, ' Captain *Rainsborough* is newly  
' come into the *Downs*, hath put the new town of *Salles*  
' into the king of *Morocco's* hands, hath made a peace  
' with that king; so that none of his majesty's coasts  
' shall any more hereafter be troubled by those pyratrical  
' subjects of that king: he hath brought with him an  
' ambassador from the king of *Morocco*, to renew antient  
' amities betwixt the two crowns, who hath brought  
' with him presents of *Barbary* horses and hawks to his  
' majesty. I saw the list of the captives 370, many of  
' them *Irish* (y).'

This ambassador, on the 5th of *November* 1637, had his audience at court. ' He rid on horseback,' says Mr. *Garrard*, ' through the streets, my lord of *Shrewsbury*  
' conducting him with twelve gentlemen of the privy-chamber, his own company, and some city captains,  
' His present of four *Barbary* horses was led along in rich caparisons, and richer saddles, with bridles set with  
' stones; also some hawks, many of the captives whom  
' he brought over going along a-foot, clad in white. He  
' himself is a *Portugal* born, brought a child into *Barbary*, an eunuch, and the third person of that kingdom.  
' He is come to renew the old league and amities that  
' hath been betwixt the two crowns, and to render  
' thanks to his majesty, as the chief instrument of restoring *Salle* to his obedience, by sending his fleet thither, which, as long as his master holds it, shall never  
' again infest any of our king's subjects (z).' Thus ended this affair, which reflects some honor on the memory of *Charles*, and shews him not wholly unmindful  
of

ceived the thanks of that prince, and assurances of his favour and friendship.

Thus much with respect to *Charles's* behaviour towards the nations around him. Let us now view him at home. On the 2d day of *February*, 1625, O. S. he was crowned by *Abbot* archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud* bishop of *St. David's* assisting. The coronation (NN) oath being supposed different from that used to be administered to our kings, occasioned many censures both of this prince and

of his own honor, or the wrongs he had received. Though from the smallness of the Squadron sent on the expedition, we may probably conclude, that had not the circumstance of intestine commotions and domestic quarrels intervened, it would have returned without honor or success. But, fortunately for *Charles*, by means of the Saint and the king of *Morocco*, his fleet was of use, and he had the satisfaction of being praised by his subjects, and thanked by the prince whom he had assisted.

(NN) *The coronation-oath being supposed different from that used by our former kings, occasioned many censures both of this prince and Laud.]* Let us hear *Heylin*. 'The king's coronation now draws on, for which solemnity he had appointed the feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, better known by the name of *Candlemas-day*. The coronations of king *Edward VI.* and queen *Elizabeth*, had been performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the *Roman* pontificals; that at the coronation of king *James* had been drawn up in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered of in a time of leisure. His majesty therefore issued a commission to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and certain other bishops, whereof *Laud* was one, to consider of the form and order of the coronation, and to accommodate the same more punctually to the pre-  
sent

and *Laud*: these will be found at large in the

‘ sent rules and orders of the church of *England*. On  
 ‘ the 4th of *January*, the commissioners first met to con-  
 ‘ sult about it; and having compared the form observed  
 ‘ in the coronation of king *James* with the public rituals,  
 ‘ it was agreed upon amongst them to make some alte-  
 ‘ rations in it, and additions to it. The alteration in it  
 ‘ was, that the unction was to be performed in *forma*  
 ‘ *crucis*, after the manner of a cross, which was accord-  
 ‘ ingly done by *Abbot*, when he officiated as archbishop  
 ‘ of *Canterbury* in the coronation. The additions in the  
 ‘ form consisted chiefly in one prayer or request to him,  
 ‘ in the behalf of the clergy, and the clause of another  
 ‘ prayer for him to Almighty God; the last of which  
 ‘ was thought to have ascribed too much power to the  
 ‘ king, the first to themselves, especially by advancing  
 ‘ of the bishops and clergy above the laity. The prayer  
 ‘ or request which was made to him, followed after the  
 ‘ unction, and was this, *viz.*

“ Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place to  
 “ which you have been heir by the succession of your  
 “ forefathers, being now delivered to you by the autho-  
 “ rity of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all  
 “ the bishops, and servants of God; and as you see the  
 “ clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so re-  
 “ member that in place convenient you give them greater  
 “ honor; that the mediator of God and man may estab-  
 “ lish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator be-  
 “ tween the clergy and laity; that you may reign for  
 “ ever with *Jesus Christ*, the king of kings, and lord of  
 “ lords, who with the Father and Holy Ghost liveth  
 “ and reigneth for ever. Amen.”

‘ The clause of that prayer which was made for him,  
 ‘ had been intermitted since the time of *Henry VI.* and  
 ‘ was this that followeth, *viz.*

“ Let him obtain favour for the people, like *Aaron* in  
 “ the tabernacle, *Elisha* in the waters, *Zacharias* in the  
 “ temple: give him *Peter*’s key of discipline, and *Paul*’s  
 “ doctrine.”

‘ Which



the note, though, notwithstanding all that has

“ Which clause had been omitted in times of popery, as intimating more ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be given to our kings, than the popes allowed of; and for the same reason, was now quarrelled at by the puritan faction.

“ It was objected commonly in the time of his [*Laud's*] fall, that in digesting the form of the coronation, he altered the coronation-oath, making it more advantageous to the king, and less beneficial to the people, than it had been formerly; from which calumny his majesty cleared both himself and the bishop, when they were both involved by common speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifestation of which truth, I will first set down the oath itself, as it was taken by the king; and then the king's defence for the taking of it. Now the oath is this.

“ The form of the coronation-oath.

“ Sir, (says the archbishop) will you grant, keep, and by your oath confirm to your people of *England*, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of *England*, your lawful and religious predecessors; and namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the clergy, by the glorious king *St. Edward* your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the antient customs of this land?

*The king answers*, “ I grant and promise to keep them.

*Archbishop*. “ Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power), both to God, the holy church, the clergy, and the people?

*Rex*. “ I will keep it.

*Archbishop*. “ Sir, will you to your power cause justice, law, and discretion in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments?

*Rex*. “ I will.

*Archbishop*. “ Sir, will you grant to hold, and grant to keep the laws and rightful customs which the commonalty

has been said, they were, perhaps, not so  
crimi-

“ monalty of this your kingdom have? And will you  
“ defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so  
“ much as in you lieth?

*Rex.* “ I grant and promise so to do.

‘ Then one of the bishops reads this admonition to  
‘ the king before the people with a loud voice. “ Our  
“ lord and king, we beseech you to pardon, and to  
“ grant, and to preserve unto us, and the churches com-  
“ mitted to our charge, all canonical priviledges, and  
“ due law and justice; and that you would protect and  
“ defend us, as every good king in his kingdom ought  
“ to be a protector and defender of the bishops, and the  
“ churches under their government.”

‘ The king answereth, “ With a willing and devout  
“ heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will  
“ preserve and maintain to you and the churches com-  
“ mitted to your charge, all canonical priviledges, and  
“ due law and justice; and that I will be your protector  
“ and defender to my power by the assistance of God,  
“ as every good king ought in his kingdom, in right to  
“ protect and defend the bishops and churches under  
“ their government.”

‘ The king ariseth, and is led to the communion-  
‘ table, where he makes a solemn oath, in sight of all  
‘ the people, to observe the premises, and laying his hand  
‘ upon the book, saith,

“ The things which I have before promised, I shall  
“ perform and keep, so help me God, and the contents  
“ of this book.”

‘ Such was the coronation-oath accustomably taken  
‘ by the kings of *England*: which notwithstanding, it  
‘ was objected by the lords and commons, in the time of  
‘ the long parliament, not to have been the same which  
‘ ought to have been taken by him. And for proof  
‘ thereof, an antiquated oath was found, and published  
‘ in a remonstrance of their’s, bearing date the 20th of  
‘ *May*, 1642. To which his majesty made this answer,  
‘ That the oath which he took at his coronation was

‘ war-

criminal in this matter, as they have been represented.

But

‘ warranted, and enjoyned by the customs of his predecessors; and that the ceremony of their and his taking of it, they might find in the records of the exchequer (a).—The oath which *Heylin* refers to, and which in the remonstrance of the lords and commons, dated 26th of *May*, 1642, is said ‘ is or ought to be taken by the kings of this realm at their coronation,’ here follows :

(a) *Heylin's* life of *Laud*, p. 141---144; and *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 200.

‘ Rot. Parlam. H. 4. n. 17.

‘ Forma juramenti soliti & consueti, præstari per reges Angliæ in eorum coronatione.

‘ Servabis ecclesiæ Dei, cleroq; & populo pacem ex integro, & concordiam in deo secundum vires tuas.

‘ Respondebit, Servabo.

‘ Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam & rectam justitiam & discretionem in misericordia & veritate, secundum vires tuas?

‘ Respondebit, Faciam.

‘ Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenandas, & promittis per te eas esse protegendas & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

‘ Respondebit, Concedo & promitto.

‘ Adjicianturq; prædictis interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint, prænuntiatisq; omnibus confirmet rex se omnia servaturum sacramento super altare præstito coram cunctis (b).

(b) *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 580.

This oath being printed as the antient coronation-oath by the parliament, and great stress laid upon the words in the king's oath, referring unto such laws as the people shall chuse [quas vulgus elegerit], his majesty replied, ‘ We are not enough acquainted with records, to know whether that be fully and ingenuously cited, and when, and how, and why the several clauses have been inserted, or taken out of the oaths formerly administered to the kings of this realm; yet we cannot possibly

But however this be, *Charles* soon shewed the world that he thought himself unrestrained

‘ possibly imagine the assertion that declaration makes, can be deduced from the words, or the matter of that oath; for unless they [the parliament] have a power of declaring *Latin* as well as law, sure *elegerit* signifieth *hath chosen*, as well as *will chuse*, and that it signifieth so here, besides the authority of the perpetual practice of all succeeding ages, (a better interpreter than their votes) is evident by the reference it hath to customs; *consuetudines quas vulgus elegerit*: and could that be a custom which the people should chuse after this oath taken? And should a king be sworn to defend such customs?’

Then follows the oath taken by *Charles*, as *Heylin* above relates it, which undoubtedly is different from the antient one mentioned by the parliament.

This alteration of the coronation-oath is attributed to *Charles* by *Milton*, and imputed to him as a high crime.

‘ Aliud erat crimen regis quod ex jurejurando à regibus regnum capeissentibus dari solito verba quædam ejus jussu erasa fuerint, antequam jurasset. O facinus indignum & execrandum! impium qui fecit, quid dicam qui defendit? nam quæ potuit, per Deum immortalem, quæ perfidia, aut juris violatio esse major? quid illi sanctius post sacratissima religionis mysteria illo jurejurando esse debuit? Quis quæso scelerator, isne qui in legem peccat, an qui secum legem ipsam ut peccare faciat dat operam? aut denique ipsam legem tollit ne peccasse videatur? Agedum, jus hoc religiosissimè jurandum rex iste violavit; sed ne palàm tamen violasse videretur, turpissimo quodam adulterio per dolum corripit; & ne perjerasse diceretur, jus ipsum jurandum in perjurium vertit. Quid aliud potuit sperari, nisi injustissimè, versutissimè, atque infelicissimè regnaturum esse eum, qui ab injuria tam detestanda auspicatus regnum est; jusque illud primum adulterare auderet, quod solum impedimento sibi fore, ne jura omnia perverteret,

strained by the laws : for he paid little attention

‘ verteret, putabat.—Hanc clusulam “quas vulgus elegerit,” *Carolus*, antequam coronam acciperet, ex formula juramenti regii eradendum curavit (c).’ i. e. ‘ Another (c) Milton’s prose-works, vol. ii. p. 361. of his crimes was, the causing some words to be struck out of the usual coronation-oath, before he himself would take it. Unworthy and abominable action! The act was wicked in itself: what shall be said of him that undertakes to justify it? For by the eternal God, what greater breach of faith, and violation of all laws, can possibly be imagined? What ought to be more sacred to him, next to the holy sacraments themselves, than that oath? Which of the two do you think the more flagitious person, him that offends against the law, or him that endeavours to make the law equally guilty with himself? Or rather, him who subverts the law itself, that he may not seem to offend against it? For thus, that king violated that oath which he ought most religiously to have sworn to; but that he might not seem openly and publicly to violate it, he craftily adulterated and corrupted it: and lest he himself should be accounted perjured, he turned the very oath into a perjury. What other could be expected, than that his reign would be full of injustice, craft, and misfortune, who began it with so detestable an injury to his people? and who durst pervert and adulterate that law which he thought the only obstacle that stood in his way, and hindered him from perverting all the rest of the laws.—This clause (*quas vulgus elegerit*) which the commons shall chuse, *Charles*, before he was crowned, procured to be razed out.’—But tho’ *Charles* is thus heavily charged by *Milton*, *Laud* has been chiefly blamed, in this affair, by some other writers, as will appear by what follows. ‘ On the 2d of February, 1625, he [*Charles*] was crowned at *Westminster*: *William Laud* altered the old coronation-oath, and framed another (d).’ And the lord chief baron *Atkins*, in a (d) Lilly, speech to the lord-mayor, *Oct.* 1693, renewed this accusation against him, in these words. ‘ The striking

tion to them, and scrupled not on every occasion

(e) See preface to Wharton's troubles and trial of Laud.

(f) Prynne's Canterbury's doome, p. 69, fol. Lond, 1646.

(g) Troubles and trial of Laud, p. 318.

' out of that part of the antient oath in king *Charles*  
' his time at his coronation, by archbishop *Laud* (that  
' the king should consent to such laws as the people  
' should chuse), and instead of that, another very un-  
' usual one inserted, saving the king's prerogative  
' royal (e).' And on his trial before the lords, it was  
objected to him, that ' he compiled the form of his ma-  
' jestie's coronation different from that of king *Edward*  
' VI. and king *James*; inserting some prayers and cere-  
' monies in it out of the *Roman* pontifical (f).' To this  
*Laud* replies, ' He [a manager of the house of com-  
' mons] charged me with two alterations in the body of  
' the king's oath. One added, namely these words  
' (agreeable to the king's prerogative). The other  
' omitted, namely these words (*quæ populus elegerit*),  
' which the people have chosen, or shall chuse. For  
' this latter, the clause omitted, that suddenly vanished:  
' for it was omitted in the oath of king *James*, as is con-  
' fessed by themselves in the printed votes of this present  
' parliament. But the other highly insisted on, as taking  
' off the total assurance which the subjects have, by the  
' oath of their prince, for the performance of his laws:  
' first, I humbly conceive this clause takes off none of the  
' people's assurance; none at all. For the king's just  
' and legal prerogative, and the subjects assurance for  
' liberty and property, may stand well together, and have  
' so stood for hundreds of years. Secondly, that altera-  
' tion, whatever it be, was not made by me; nor is  
' there any interlining or alteration, so much as of a let-  
' ter, found in that book. Thirdly, if any thing be  
' amiss therein, my predecessor [*Abbot*] gave that oath  
' to the king, and not I. I was merely ministerial both  
' in the preparation, and at the coronation itself, supply-  
' ing the place of the dean of *Westminster* (g).'

This seems pretty strong, and I fancy is true; because  
the only reply made in the house of lords, by the managers  
for the commons, to the same defence, was, ' That it  
' appears by his own diary, that he had the chief hand  
' in

casion to violate them, when they thwarted his interest or inclination. To serve purposes not the most laudable, he encouraged innovations in the doctrine of the church (oo) established,

' in compiling this form, and that it was collected, and corrected by himself, though other bishops were joyned in consultation with him (h). — But this reply is not to the purpose. *Laud* might, and it is plain from his diary that he did, collect and correct the form made use of at the coronation. But these collections and corrections seem to have been wholly of the superstitious kind. The unction in the form of a cross, the placing the crucifix on the altar, the inserting the priestly admonition, 'Stand and hold fast,' &c. which is in the *Roman pontifical verbatim*; these, I suppose, were the things collected and corrected by *Laud*, and were well worthy of his genius and disposition. However, the reader has the evidence on both sides before him, and is at liberty to form his own judgment. Much has been said on this matter by many writers, though few have gone to the bottom of it. Perhaps, after all, I may be told, it did not deserve the pains.

(oo) *He encouraged innovations in the doctrine of the church, &c.*] What the doctrine of the church of England is, may be seen in the thirty-nine articles of religion, which all her ministers subscribe. The doctrines of original sin, predestination, the necessity of the grace of God, in order to render our good works acceptable unto him, and many other things, equally orthodox and edifying, are contained therein. And as a separation was but just made from the *Romish* church when these articles were compiled, she is (as it was very natural) declared to have erred in matters of faith, and to have taught doctrines contrary to the truth. And that men might have a proper detestation of her, in the homilies of our church, which we are taught contain godly and wholesome doctrine, she is denied to be a true church, and her worship is declared to be idolatrous. But this notwithstanding,

established, and defended the innovators  
from

*Richard Montague* broached in his writings Arminianism, and spoke more favourably of popery than a zealous protestant could possibly have done. The house of commons, who valued the protestant religion, and really believed the doctrines contained in the articles of the church of *England*, were alarmed. They drew up articles against *Montague*, in which they declare him to have 'maintained and confirmed some doctrine contrary to the articles agreed by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the year 1562; and by his so doing, to have broke the laws and statutes of this realm.' But all the effect of this was, that the supposed criminal was protected by *Charles*, and honoured by him with a mitre (i). Good encouragement this, to vilify the doctrines of a church, and applaud her adversary! In like manner *Roger Manwaring* having, as the commons declared, 'preached two sermons contrary to the laws of this realm, in which he taught that the king was not bound to keep and observe them;' and being, on an impeachment, censured by the lords, fined, and declared to be incapable of having any ecclesiastical dignity, or secular office hereafter, was pardoned by his majesty, and advanced to the rank of a right reverend (k).—*Robert Sibthorp*, indeed, had not so good luck. He preached the same doctrine with *Manwaring*, and had his sermon licensed by *Laud*, after *Abbot* had refused the doing it, though required in his majesty's name; but being 'a person of little learning and few parts, he only could obtain a chaplainship in ordinary to his majesty, prebendary of *Peterborough*, and rector of *Burton Latimer* in *Northamptonshire*.'

(i) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 199, 634.

(k) Id. p. 635.

The doctrines and promotions of these men, and others of a like stamp, produced, I am persuaded, the following excellent observations. 'When such men and such doctrines prevail, it is easy to guess what will follow. No man will care to give pernicious counsel, but where he knows it will be pleasing; nor will a prince hear it, unless he be inclinable to take it. He only, who has a mind



from the ill effects of parliamentary cen-  
sures,

‘ mind to do what he ought not, will like to be told that  
‘ he may; and the will of the prince is then preached  
‘ up, when law and liberty are to be pulled down.  
‘ What means or avails the propagating of arbitrary  
‘ maxims, but to justify and introduce arbitrary pro-  
‘ ceedings? They are too odious to be spread, where no  
‘ great design is to be served by doing it. Nor need any  
‘ man desire a surer sign, that universal slavery is intended  
‘ by the court, than when universal submission to it is  
‘ inculcated upon the people.’ This consideration alone  
‘ leaves no excuse or apology to be made for those reigns,  
‘ when such slavish tenets were every where maintained,  
‘ and the vile maintainers of these tenets countenanced,  
‘ hired, and preferred: when from the public tribunals,  
‘ and public pulpits, places sacred to law and truth, it  
‘ became fashionable, nay, became the only and surest  
‘ way of rising there, to assert, that there was no law,  
‘ save in the wild will of one, who, though sworn to de-  
‘ fend law, might lawfully overturn it; to assert impious  
‘ falsehoods, manifest to all men; to father such falsehoods  
‘ upon the God of truth, under his holy name to shel-  
‘ ter outrageous oppressions; to bind up the hands of the  
‘ oppressed; to maintain that the lives of men, which  
‘ they held from God, their property, which was secured  
‘ to them by the constitution, the constitution itself con-  
‘ trived by the wisdom of men for their own preserva-  
‘ tion, and defended through ages by their virtue and  
‘ bravery, were all at the meer mercy and lust of him  
‘ who was solemnly bound to protect all; but might, if  
‘ he so listed, destroy them all without opposition; nay,  
‘ all opposition was damnable. When all this was no-  
‘ torious, constant, universal, the language of power,  
‘ the style of favourites, and the road to favour, what  
‘ doubt could remain whither it all tended? To prevent  
‘ all doubts, arbitrary measures were pursued, whilst  
‘ arbitrary measures were promoted. The persons of  
‘ men were illegally imprisoned, illegal fines imposed,

tures, and moreover took care to reward them

‘ estates violently seized, and the public confidently robbed (l).’

(l) Gordon’s  
discourses  
upon Tacitus,  
vol. v.  
p. 99.

To return.—If we may believe *Andrew Marvell*, *Manning* and *Sibthorp* were not over-worthy of the countenance and encouragement they received from *Charles*: for, says he, ‘ they were exceeding pragmatistical, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any gentleman might come near the tail of their mules (m).’

(m) Wood’s  
Athenæ  
Oxonienſes,  
vol. ii. c.  
273.

The elevation of these gentlemen, we may be sure, was not very acceptable to the body of the nation. For nothing was more detestable to them, at that time, than Arminianism and Popery, than lawless rule, and power uncontrollable. With regard to the new doctrines vended under the patronage of *Charles*, we may observe that they were not only censured by the parliament, but so disagreeable to the clergy, that *Laud* himself, by the advice of *Andrews*, would not trust their being handled in a convocation. ‘ The truth in those opinions not being so generally entertained (says *Heylin*) amongst the clergy, nor the archbishop [*Abbot*] and the greater part of the prelates so inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of those points to a convocation (n). But that,’ continues the same writer, ‘ which was not thought fit in that present conjuncture for a convocation, his majesty was pleased to take order in by his royal edict.’ And therefore, on the 14th of *June*, 1626, by the advice of his court-bishops, he issued forth a proclamation, in which he declared ‘ his full and constant resolution, that neither in matters of doctrine, nor discipline of the church, nor in the government of the state, he will admit of the least innovation.—His majesty thereupon commands all his subjects (the clergy most especially), both in *England* and *Ireland*, that from thenceforth they should carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscionably, that neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences, or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish or maintain any new inventions or opinions concerning religion,

(n) Life of  
*Laud*, p.  
153.

them with honours and preferments. In his

‘gion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted  
‘by the doctrine and discipline of the church of *England*,  
‘heretofore published and happily established by authority.’

This proclamation seemed, in words, to favour the established doctrines of the church; but, in fact, was made use of to undermine and destroy them. For the book of *Mountague*, abovementioned, having had a variety of answers, which were displeasing to *Laud*, who was supreme in all matters ecclesiastical, he, under colour of this order, took care to suppress them, as we may learn from the following passages.

‘There appeared so many in the list against him  
‘[*Mountague*], viz. *Goad*, *Featly*, *Ward*, *Wotton*, *Prynne*,  
‘and *Burton*, that the encounter seemed to be between  
‘a whole army and a single person. *Laud*, and some of  
‘those bishops on the other side, encouraged by his majesty’s proclamation, endeavoured to suppress those  
‘books, which seemed to have been published in defiance of it; some of them being called in, some  
‘stopped at the press; some printers questioned for printing, as the authors were for writing such prohibited  
‘pamphlets. *Burton* and *Prynne*, amongst the rest, were  
‘called into the high commission, and at the point to  
‘have been censured, when a prohibition comes from  
‘*Westminster-hall* to stay the proceedings in that court,  
‘contrary to his majesty’s will and pleasure, expressed  
‘so clearly and distinctly in the said proclamation:  
‘which prohibition they tendered to the court in so rude  
‘a manner, that *Laud* was like to have laid them by  
‘the heels for their labour (o).’ A strange sort of leger-

(o) Life of  
*Laud*, p.  
155.

demain this! The proclamation was against innovations; but by the flight of these prelates, countenanced by his majesty, it was turned against those who stood up in defence of the doctrine happily established by authority.

However, it must be acknowledged, that tho’ *Mountague*, as a reward for his labours, had a bishoprick conferred upon him; yet his book was called in by proclamation.

his time it was that *Mountague, Manwaring,*  
and

(p) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
i. p. 635.

mation. ‘ But ere this proclamation was published, the  
‘ books were for the most part vented, and out of danger  
‘ of seizure (p).’ And in order to crush the established  
doctrines yet more, a declaration was prefixed to the thirty-  
nine articles in his majesty’s name, wherein ‘ he wills,  
‘ that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to  
‘ draw the article aside *any way*, but shall submit to it in  
‘ the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put  
‘ his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the  
‘ article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical  
‘ sense. And if any persons shall preach or print any  
‘ thing either way, other than is already established in  
‘ convocation with our royal assent; says the king, they  
‘ shall be liable to our displeasure, and the church’s cen-  
‘ sure in our commission ecclesiastical (q).’—The body  
of the clergy were uneasy at this, as well seeing what  
they were to expect from it; and the parliament had the  
same apprehensions. For soon afterwards we find the  
commons making the following protestation:

(q) See the  
declaration  
prefixed to  
the articles.

‘ We the commons in parliament assembled, do  
‘ claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the  
‘ articles of religion which were established by parlia-  
‘ ment in the thirteenth year of our late queen *Elizabeth*,  
‘ which by the public act of the church of *England*, and  
‘ by the general and current exposition of the writers of  
‘ our church, have been delivered unto us. And we  
‘ reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all  
‘ others that differ from it (r).’

(r) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
i. p. 649.

But notwithstanding this protestation, Arminianism,  
being the high road to preferment, gained ground; and  
the defenders of the established doctrines were treated as  
disturbers of the peace of the church, and impugners of  
authority. In a speech of sir *Edward Dering*, made in  
the house of commons Nov. 23, 1640, we find him re-  
marking on the innovations in the doctrine of the church  
after the following manner: ‘ With the papists there is  
‘ a mysterious artifice, I mean their Index expurgatorius,  
‘ whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses whose  
‘ evi-

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
and *Sibthorp*, those noted ecclesiastics, figured  
in

185

‘ evidence they do not like.—To this I parallel our late  
‘ Imprimaturs, licences for the press; so handled, that  
‘ truth is suppressed, and popish pamphlets fly abroad, *cum*  
‘ *privilegio*; witness the audacious and libelling pamphlets  
‘ against true religion, written by *Pocklington, Heylin,*  
‘ *Dow, Cosins, Shelford, Swan, Reeves, Yates, Hanstead,*  
‘ *Studley, Sparrow, Brown, Roberts,*—many more; I  
‘ name no bishops, but I add &c. Nay, they are al-  
‘ ready grown so bold in this new trade, that the most  
‘ learned labours of our antient and best divines must be  
‘ now corrected and defaced with a deleatur, by the su-  
‘ percilious pen of my lord’s young chaplaine; fit per-  
‘ haps for the technical arts, but unfit to hold the chair  
‘ for divinity. But herein the *Roman* index is better than  
‘ our *English* licensors: they thereby doe preserve the  
‘ current of their own established doctrine; a point of  
‘ wisdom. But with us our innovators, by this artifice,  
‘ doe alter our settled doctrines: nay, they doe subinduce  
‘ points repugnant and contrariant (s).’

(s) Collection  
of speeches  
by sir Ed-  
ward Dering,  
p. 13, 4to.  
London, 1642.

Those who would know the particulars of these mat-  
ters, may easily find them in our writers of church-  
history. If it be asked what end the encouragement of  
these innovations answered in the eye of *Charles*? the  
answer is, that it galled the puritans, hateful to his ma-  
jesty on account of their inviolable attachment to civil  
liberty; it brought things nearer to the *Romish* church,  
which was what the king and *Laud* were desirous of (as  
we shall hereafter shew); and it helped to advance the  
mighty scheme of despotic sway, which this prince had  
been meditating and practising from his accession to the  
throne: for all the Arminians at this time were divine-  
right and prerogative-men.—I cannot conclude this note  
without observing, that this declaration of *Charles*, pre-  
fixed to the thirty-nine articles, has been produced and  
canvassed in the famous *Bangorian* and *Trinitarian* con-  
troversies, which engaged the attention of the public for  
a great number of years. This will best be understood  
by the following quotations.

‘ If

in controversy, and were careſſed and favoured

‘ If the biſhop [*Peſter*] means to lay it down as the rule  
 ‘ of ſubſcription, that it muſt be made in the ſenſe in  
 ‘ which the impoſers underſtood the words; I will tell  
 ‘ him a few reaſons why I can by no means agree to  
 ‘ this. 1. Becauſe, in ſeveral caſes, it is impoſſible to  
 ‘ be certain in what ſenſe they themſelves underſtood  
 ‘ them. 2. Becauſe there are not perhaps ten men in  
 ‘ the church now, who ſubſcribe, in their ſenſe, to thoſe  
 ‘ articles in which their ſenſe is moſt known. 3. Becauſe  
 ‘ I cannot condemn archbiſhop *Laud*, biſhop *Bull*; and  
 ‘ others, who departed manifeſtly from the received  
 ‘ ſenſe, not of one, but of ſeveral articles; nor that  
 ‘ declaration of king *James I.* [*Charles I.*] by which he  
 ‘ openly patronized the ſubſcribing the ſame articles in  
 ‘ ſeveral, not only different but contradictory ſenſes:  
 ‘ and, in effect, declared it for the honor of the articles  
 ‘ that this ſhould be ſo; and that all ſhould acquieſce in  
 ‘ it, without mutual reproaches (*t*).’ To this it was  
 ‘ replied, ‘ It is very uncautiouſly and unaccurately ſaid,  
 ‘ that king *Charles I.* patronized the ſubſcribing the ſame  
 ‘ articles, either in contradictory or different ſenſes. His  
 ‘ order is, that every ſubſcriber ſubmit to the article in  
 ‘ the plain and full meaning thereof, in the literal and  
 ‘ grammatical ſenſe. What, is the plain and full mean-  
 ‘ ing more than one meaning? or is the one plain and  
 ‘ full meaning two contradictory meanings? Could it be  
 ‘ for the honor of the article (or of the king), to ſay  
 ‘ this? No: but the royal declaration, by plain and full  
 ‘ meaning, underſtands the general meaning, which is  
 ‘ but one, and to which all might reaſonably ſubſcribe.  
 ‘ And he forbids any one’s putting his own ſenſe, or  
 ‘ comment, to be the meaning of the article, or to  
 ‘ affix any new ſenſe to it: that is, he forbids the chang-  
 ‘ ing a general propoſition into a particular; he ſtands  
 ‘ up for the general propoſition, or, for the article itſelf;  
 ‘ and prohibits particular meanings, as not belonging to  
 ‘ the article; nor being properly explications of it, but  
 ‘ additions to it. This is the plain import of the royal  
 ‘ decla-

(r) Hoadly’s  
 poſtſcript to  
 his anſwer  
 to Hare, p.  
 259, 8vo.  
 Lond. 1720.

voured by him, though they were most hateful

‘ declaration: and it is both wise and just; free from  
 ‘ any of those strange consequences, or inferences, which  
 ‘ some would draw from it (u).’ Dr. Sykes answered <sup>(u) Water-</sup>  
 this in the following manner.—‘ During the reign of <sup>land’s case</sup>  
 ‘ king James I. and king Charles I. the predestinarian <sup>of Arian-</sup>  
 ‘ controversy was on foot, and carried on with great heat <sup>subscriptions,</sup>  
 ‘ and animosity. Whilst one party upbraided the other <sup>p. 41, 8vo.</sup>  
 ‘ with fraudulent subscribing the articles of the church, <sup>Cambridge,</sup>  
 ‘ those who stood charged with prevarication, and fraud, <sup>1721.</sup>  
 ‘ with wiles and subtilties, still appealed to the articles,  
 ‘ and insisted that they did not contradict them. In this  
 ‘ contest, king Charles I. published his declaration, in  
 ‘ which he says, “ Though some differences have been  
 ‘ ill raised, yet we take comfort in this, that all clergy-  
 ‘ men within our realm have always most willingly sub-  
 ‘ scribed to the articles established; which is an argu-  
 ‘ ment to us, that they all agree in the true, usual, liter-  
 ‘ al meaning of the said articles; and that, even in those  
 ‘ curious points in which the present differences lie,  
 ‘ men of all sorts take the articles of the church of Eng-  
 ‘ land to be for them; which is an argument again,  
 ‘ that none of them intend any desertion of the articles  
 ‘ established.” King Charles I. thought it therefore a  
 ‘ matter of comfort that all clergymen subscribed, not-  
 ‘ withstanding their respective controversies, altercations,  
 ‘ and disputes; and was so far from discountenancing, or  
 ‘ discouraging such subscriptions, that he plainly encour-  
 ‘ aged all to subscribe, if possibly they could.’—And  
 from the other parts of the declaration above quoted,  
 with what Dr. Waterland says is the meaning of it, he  
 further infers, ‘ That whatever particular meanings any  
 ‘ clergyman may have of any general propositions in any  
 ‘ article, he may lawfully and honestly subscribe to the  
 ‘ general expressions; and be free from any guilt of pre-  
 ‘ varication, fraud, and breach of sincerity and trust.—  
 ‘ King Charles enjoined, That no particular private per-  
 ‘ son should presume or pretend to put his own sense  
 ‘ or comment to be the meaning of the article. This  
 ‘ injunc-

ful to the body of the nation : and all possible  
encou-

(w) Case of  
subscription  
to the 39  
articles, in  
answer to  
Waterland,  
p. 9, 11,  
8vo. Lond.  
1721.

(\*) Id. p.  
39.

‘ injunction, as it stands, extended equally to *all* the  
‘ thirty-nine articles; nor has any man a right to con-  
‘ fine it to the predestinarian controversy, *i. e.* to five or  
‘ six articles. If therefore any man can satisfy himself  
‘ that the first or the second article, as it stands in *general*  
‘ propositions, is true in its grammatical construction,  
‘ he may subscribe it, notwithstanding he may, when he  
‘ descends to *particulars*, widely differ from the com-  
‘ monly received notions (*w*).’ This gentleman, on  
these principles, therefore very plainly, and, I think,  
truly asserts, ‘ That whatever can be said to justify an  
‘ Arminian in subscribing contrary to the sense of the  
‘ compilers and imposers, may be said to justify the men  
‘ whom Dr. *W.* calls *Arians*, in the like case of sub-  
‘ scription (*x*). The wrath of *Waterland* was stirred up  
with this, and he set himself to shew that the articles  
were not Calvinistical, and consequently an Arminian  
might honestly subscribe them. To him *Sykes* re-  
joined, and thereby shewed the world, that no test can  
be so drawn, but that subtle or artful men can find ways  
to evade it; that they knew better how to attack each  
other, than defend themselves; and that the thirty-nine  
articles, which were agreed on for the avoiding of diver-  
sity of opinions, were yet thought capable of being sub-  
scribed by men in the most opposite sentiments, and ac-  
tually were so!—I will close this note in the words of a  
very ingenious clergyman, on the subject of subscription  
to the thirty-nine articles.—‘ I must own, says he, that  
‘ I am not highly pleased with this method of establishing  
‘ of consent touching true religion, because I am appre-  
‘ hensive that it is not the most proper way to avoid  
‘ diversity of opinions. Are the clergy to this day, not-  
‘ withstanding they have all, and all along subscribed  
‘ them, better agreed? Are they of one mind yet? Have  
‘ we had no dispute upon some of these very articles,  
‘ which were designed to hinder all disputes?—Yes, we  
‘ have, and those maintained too by some of the most  
‘ learned and best of that order—and that very justly;—  
‘ for



encouragement was given to other men of the same

' for true religion can never be established by consent,  
 ' but by debate.—What can be the reason why the  
 ' clergy should fall upon this method of articleing with  
 ' their noviciates? Should fetters be clapt upon the  
 ' mind? or should it be free to pursue its own conclu-  
 ' sions? Are religion and truth two different things, that  
 ' if truth should come out, religion must fail? And how  
 ' shall truth appear, but by disquisition, parley, and dis-  
 ' pute? What matter to them on which side she is  
 ' found?—be she but found.—Are not all mankind as  
 ' much concerned in her as they? Why then these  
 ' hedges and inclosures, where every man has right of  
 ' common? Such practices not only hinder the propaga-  
 ' tion of truth, but are the causes of vile prevarications  
 ' and hypocrisy.—Men that come into the church, un-  
 ' less their sentiments are conformable to those of the  
 ' articles, which, by the writings of the clergy, and the  
 ' turn of the age, seem to be very few in number, must  
 ' be guilty of such dishonesty, as a man of probity  
 ' would blush to mention.—Are all the men of sense  
 ' and learning, among the clergy, Athanasians? and  
 ' who but such can honestly put their hands to the first,  
 ' second, fifth, and eighth articles?—Or, are the clergy  
 ' now-a-days of Calvinistical principles, according to  
 ' the meaning of the seventeenth article? Yet they own  
 ' these as truths.—What can the laity think, but that  
 ' these persons (who, with so much ease and quietness, (y) Diffua-  
 ' solemnly profess propositions true, which they are con- sive from  
 ' vinced are false, meerly for the sake of the preferment entering into  
 ' of the church) would, for the sake of greater gains, in the Cor-  
 ' subscribe to any other thirty-nine propositions you can dial for Low  
 ' bring them (y)?' This is honestly and boldly spoken! Spirits, vol.  
 A time, one would hope, must come, in which truth iii. p. 319.  
 will be heard and regarded by those who are in autho- some excel-  
 rity. Quickly may it come! that the minds of good and lent remarks  
 virtuous men may no longer be made uneasy under the on this sub-  
 galling yoke of subscription to articles, drawn up by ject in Hart-  
 men who comparatively understood little of the doc- ley's obser-  
 trinal vations on  
 p. 354, 354.

same stamp, whilst their adversaries met with a very different treatment. These innovations in doctrine were attended with a great variety of superstitious (PP) practices ; such

trinal parts of religion, and were quite unacquainted with the rights of conscience.

(PP) *A great variety of superstitious practices, &c.]* Charles, I have before observed, was naturally superstitious, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that new superstitions were introduced and cherished by him. For when once men leave the road of common sense, and think themselves capable of adding to the directions given by *Jesus Christ*, with relation to the worship and service of Almighty God, they know not where to stop: one thing is comely in their eyes, another significant, another edifying; till at length religion becomes a meer hotch-potch of trumperies, fooleries, shews, and every thing but what it should be. In the reign of Charles a multitude of odd things were introduced into the church, and a variety of practices, for which no good reason could be given. ‘A rich  
‘ large crucifix, embroidered with gold and silver, in a  
‘ fair peece of arras, was hung up in his majestie’s chapel, over the altar (z);’ to which the chaplains were ordered to make their best bows, *Laud* himself setting the example ‘at his ingresse, egressse, (a lane being made  
‘ for him to see the altar, and do his reverence to it)  
‘ and at all his approaches towards or to the altar.’ Pictures were set up in churches, consecrations were made use of after the *Romish* manner, though without sense or meaning; the communion-table was turned altar-wise in churches and colleges; and a great stress was laid on the garments wherein the public teachers officiated.—‘In the year 1634, being the first year after  
‘ bishop *Laud*’s translation from *London* to *Canterbury*,  
‘ great offence was taken at his setting up of pictures in  
‘ the church-windows at his chappel at *Lambeth* and  
‘ *Croyden*, the portraiture of them being made accord-

(z) *Canterbury’s doome*, p. 67.

such as bowings to the altar, consecrations  
of

ing to the *Roman* missal, and bowing towards the table  
or altar, using of copes at the sacrament, whereupon  
the people made a great clamour, that the archbishop  
endeavoured to subvert God's true religion, by law  
established in this realm, and, instead thereof, to set  
up popish superstition and idolatry (a). *Laud* made (a) *Ruff-*  
but a very lame defence—he acknowledged the facts; *worth, vol.*  
but insisted on it, that what he had done, had been done *ii. p. 273.*  
before him; that he had followed the pattern of bishop  
*Andrews*; and that he knew not that the pictures he had  
set up were the same with those in the *Romish* missal.  
The latter part of this plea was undoubtedly false: for  
the missal, with which they agreed, was found in his  
study at *Lambeth*, and produced before the lords, marked  
in a variety of places with his own hand. And as to his  
other pleas, he was told, 'that bowing to or towards  
the altar, was never prescribed by our statutes, articles,  
' homilies, common-prayer-book, injunctions, canons,  
' never practised by any till of late, but some few popish  
' court-doctors, and cathedralists; never used by his  
' predecessor or his chaplains; introduced only by papists  
' at the first, in honor and adoration of their brea-  
den god upon the altar; and enjoined only by the *Roman*  
' missal, ceremonial, and popish canonists (b).'  
—This (b) *Id. p.*  
bowing towards the altar, I think, is yet practised by our *280.*  
cathedralists. I remember a man of letters was used to tell  
his acquaintance, that he sometimes dropped into *St.*  
*Paul's*, to have the pleasure of seeing *Dr. Hare* [dean of  
that church] make his bow to the altar.—But to go on.  
—In the year 1640, we find some of these trifles en-  
joined by a canon of the then convocation. 'The  
' synod declares, that the standing of the communion-  
' table sideways, under the east window of the chancel  
' or chappel, is in its own nature indifferent; but foras-  
' much as queen *Elizabeth's* injunctions order it to be  
' placed where the altar was, we therefore judge it pro-  
' per, that all churches and chappels do conform them-  
' selves to the cathedral or mother-churches. And we  
' declare

of churches, and the ornamenting them  
with

‘ declare this situation of the holy table does not imply  
‘ that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper  
‘ altar, whereon *Christ* is again sacrificed; but it may  
‘ be called an altar in the sense of the primitive church:  
‘ and because it has been observed, that some people in  
‘ time of divine service have irreverently leaned, cast  
‘ their hats, or set upon or under the communion-table,  
‘ therefore the synod thinks meet, that the table be railed  
‘ round. It is further recommended to all good people,  
‘ that they do reverence at their entring in and going out  
‘ of the church; and that all communicants do approach  
‘ the holy table, to receive the communion at the rails,  
‘ which has heretofore been unfitly carried up and down  
‘ by the minister, unless the bishop shall dispense with

(c) Nalson, it (c).’

P. 545;  
apud Neale’s  
history of  
the puritans,  
vol. ii. p.  
350, 8vo.  
Lond. 1733.

And the stress which was laid on these matters will  
appear from the following narrative of sir *Edward Der-*  
*ing*, in a committee of the house of commons, Nov. 23,  
1640.—‘ Mr. *Wilkinson*, says he, a batchelor in divi-  
nity, and a man in whose character doe concur learn-  
ing, piety, industry, modesty,—presented himself to  
receive orders; and that was thus. The bishop of  
‘ *Oxford*’s chaplaine [*M. Fulham*], being the examiner  
‘ (for bishops now doe scorne to doe bishops work: it  
‘ belongs to himselfe), he propoundeth four questions to  
‘ *M. Wilkinson*, not taken out of the depth of divinity,  
‘ but fitly chosen to discover how affections doe stand to  
‘ be novelized by the mutability of the present times.

‘ The questions were these:

1. ‘ Whether hath the church authority in matters  
‘ of faith?
2. ‘ May the king’s book of sports, (so some impious  
‘ bishops have abused our pious king, to call their con-  
‘ trivance his majestie’s booke) may this be read in the  
‘ church without offence?
3. ‘ Is bowing to or before the altar lawful?
4. ‘ Is bowing at the name of *Jesus* lawful?

‘ As

with pictures, after the manner of the catho-  
lics,

‘ As soon as M. *Wilkinson* heard these questions, *lupum auribus*, he had a wolfe by the ears ; and because unto these captious interrogatories he could not make a peremptory answer, M. *Fulham* would not present him to the bishop for ordination (*d*).’ These were rare questions to be proposed on such an occasion ! and the man, who could not answer them in the affirmative, must be very unworthy of the episcopal approbation !

(d) Dering’s collection of speeches, p. 43. ¶

‘ In defence of superstition, it is usually asked by ignorant devotees,—what harm is there in it?—If we have a mind to turn towards the east, why may we not turn that way as well as any other? That God is equally in all places, is a fundamental maxim ; and which way ever we happen to face in our addresses to him, it is a thing in its own nature perfectly indifferent : but then we should consider it only *as such*, act accordingly, and not make a *formal stated ceremony* of it ; for he must be but a sorry casuist who does not know, that things by nature *indifferent*, may by *law* be made otherwise : and as the constitution of our church has left no ceremony indifferent, but all are either commanded or forbidden ; and this *turning* towards the east is no where ordered, whenever we make a ceremony of it (pardon me the expression), it is a *turn* too much.—But some one perhaps will say,—what would I have men do, for instance, when they say their Creed? Would I have them turn no way, but stand just as they did before? My answer is, *why not?* What occasion for all this shuffling backwards and forwards, when the time is come for us to say what religion we are of? If we desire to let the world know that we are Christians, why do we not declare it in the face of the world? As to the making the declaration before God, he is *every where* ; why then should we turn, to be never the nearer? For once to assume myself the air of a profound rationalist ;—when we profess our faith, what more proper than to stand our ground (*e*)?’ This is very just. All I shall add is, that we ought to be on our guard against

(e) Asplin’s Alkibla, part ii. p. 224, 8vo. London, 1730.

lics, together with many other things of a like nature. In short, the church of *England* assumed a new dress under this prince (QQ), and seemed in the eyes of many too much

superstition, which, once admitted, knows no bounds, and never fails to obscure the glory, and fully the beauty of true religion.

(QQ) *The church of England assumed a new dress under this prince.*] Here are my authorities. ‘ The clergy, ‘ whose dependance was meerly upon the king, were ‘ wholly taken up in admiration of his [*Charles*] happy ‘ government, which they never concealed from himself, as often as the pulpit gave them access to his ear ; ‘ and not only there but at all meetings, they discoursed ‘ with joy upon that theam ; affirming confidently, that ‘ no prince in *Europe* was so great a friend to the church ‘ as king *Charles* ; that religion flourished no where but ‘ in *England* ; and no reformed church retained the face ‘ and dignity of a church but that. Many of them used ‘ to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore so ‘ severely punished the Palatinate, because their sacriledge ‘ had been so great in taking away the endowments of ‘ bishopricks. Queen *Elizabeth* herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her ‘ virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut ‘ short the bishoprick of *Ely*. Henry VIII. was much ‘ condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbies, and ‘ taking so much out of the severall bishopricks, as he ‘ did in the 37th year of his reigne. To maintaine ‘ therefore that splendour of a church, which so much ‘ pleased them, was become their highest endeavour ; ‘ especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an ‘ archbishop after their own heart, Dr. *Laud* ; who had ‘ before, for divers years, ruled the clergy in the secession of archbishop *Abbot*, a man of better temper and ‘ discretion ; which discretion or virtue to conceale, ‘ would be an injury to that archbishop : he was a man ‘ who wholly followed the true interest of *England*, and ‘ that

much to resemble the *Römish* one. Besides this,

‘ that of the reformed churches in *Europe*, so farre, as  
 ‘ that in his time the clergy was not much envied here  
 ‘ in *England*, nor the government of episcopacy much  
 ‘ disfavoured by protestants beyond the seas. Not only  
 ‘ the pompe of ceremonies was daily increased, and  
 ‘ innovations of great scandal brought into the church;  
 ‘ but in point of doctrine, many faire approaches made  
 ‘ towards *Rome*; as he that pleaseth to search may find  
 ‘ in the books of bishop *Laud*, *Mountague*, *Heylin*, *Pock-*  
 ‘ *lington*, and the rest; or in brief collected by a *Scotish*  
 ‘ minister, master *Bayly*. And as their friendship to  
 ‘ *Rome* increased, so did their scorn to the reformed  
 ‘ churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of lending  
 ‘ that releife and succour to them, which God had en-  
 ‘ abled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest  
 ‘ extremities, and instead of harbours, became rocks to  
 ‘ split them (f).’ I have the rather quoted this at (f) May’s  
 length, in order that I may give the reader a taste of history of  
 Mr. May’s manner of writing. Take him upon the the parlia-  
 ment, p. 22.  
 whole, he will appear elegant, exact, and impartial, and  
 deserving to be much better known than he is.—But to  
 proceed. - *Mountague*, before mentioned, maintained that  
 ‘ the controverted points [between the *Roman* catholics  
 ‘ and the protestants] are of a lesser and inferiour nature,  
 ‘ of which a man may be ignorant, without any danger  
 ‘ of his soul at all.’ He moreover affirmed and main-  
 ‘ tained, ‘ that saints have not only a memory, but a more  
 ‘ peculiar charge of their friends; and that it may be  
 ‘ admitted, that some saints have a peculiar patronage,  
 ‘ custody, protection, and power, as angels also have,  
 ‘ over certain persons and countries, by special deputa-  
 ‘ tion; and that it is no impiety so to believe (g).’ The (g) Rush-  
 same *Mountague* in print averred, ‘ That all priests, and worth, vol.  
 ‘ none but priests, have power to forgive sins.—Such i. p. 210.  
 ‘ absolution, said he, is a part of that priestly power  
 ‘ which could not be given by men or angels, but only  
 ‘ and immediately by Almighty God himself; a part of  
 ‘ that paramount power which the God of glory hath  
 ‘ invested

this, professed papists were favoured and  
caressed

(l) Prynne's 'invested mortal men withal (h).' This was at length  
Canterbury's doome, become so current a doctrine, that it was maintained in  
p. 189. the pulpit as well as from the press. For one Mr. Adams,

preaching publicly in St. Mary's church in Cambridge, declared, 'That a special confession unto a priest (ac-  
'tually where time and opportunity presents itself, or  
'otherwise in explicit intention and resolution) of all  
'our sins committed after baptism, so farre forth as we  
'doe remember, is necessary unto salvation.'—Yea,

(i) Id. p.  
192.

he moreover averred, 'That it was as necessary to sal-  
'vation as meat is to the body (i).' It was also become  
very fashionable, at this time, to talk of the real presence  
of *Christ* on the altar, and the unbloody sacrifice offered  
thereon (k). What these men meant is not very easy to

(k) Id. p.  
202.

know, though some of these doctrines are still pretended  
to be held by many in this age. I say, pretended; for it  
is hardly possible to think that men of sense and learning  
can themselves believe what, for very good and profitable  
purposes, they seem to endeavour to palm on their igno-  
rant credulous followers.—It would be quite tedious  
to enumerate the particulars of the approaches which  
were made towards popery in this reign. Suffice it to  
say, that standers-by, as well as persons concerned, saw  
and acknowledged them. Let us hear a foreign noble-  
man, who wrote on the spot. 'As to a reconciliation  
'between the churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were  
'made some general propositions and overtures by the  
'archbishop's agents, they assuring that his grace was  
'very much disposed thereunto; and that, if it was not  
'accomplished in his life-time, it would prove a work of  
'more difficulty after his death; that in very truth, for  
'the last three years, the archbishop had introduced  
'some innovations, approaching the rites and forms of  
'*Rome*. The bishop of *Chichester*, a great confidant of  
'his grace, and the lord-treasurer, and eight other bishops  
'of his grace's partie, did most passionately desire a re-  
'conciliation with the church of *Rome*; that therefore  
'the pope, on his part, ought to make some steps to  
'meet



caressed by the court, advanced therein to  
employ-

‘ meet them, and the court of *Rome* remit something of  
‘ its rigour in doctrine, otherwise no accord could be.  
‘ And in very deed, the universities, bishops, and divines  
‘ of this realm, doe daily embrace catholike opinions,  
‘ though they professe not so much with open mouth,  
‘ for fear of the puritans. For example, they hold that  
‘ the church of *Rome* is a true church; that the pope is  
‘ superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call  
‘ general councils; that it is lawful to pray for the soul  
‘ of the departed; that altars ought to be erected of  
‘ stone. In summe, that they believe all that is taught  
‘ by the church, but not by the court of *Rome*. There  
‘ was likewise an *English* doctor that told *Panzanie*’s [the  
‘ pope’s nuntio] friend, that the king did approve of au-  
‘ ricular confession, and was willing to introduce it;  
‘ and would use force to make it received, were it not  
‘ for fear of sedition among the people (1).’

(1) The  
popes nun-  
tios, p. 10,  
4to. Lond.  
1643.

The following passage from *Heylin*, will fully shew the  
appearance the church of *England* made in those times.  
‘ If you will take her character, says he, from the pen  
‘ of a jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many  
‘ falsehoods, these undoubted truths, viz. That the pro-  
‘ fessors of it, they especially of the greatest worth,  
‘ learning, and authority, love temper and moderation;  
‘ that the doctrines are altered in many things; as, for  
‘ example, the pope not Anti-christ, pictures, free-will,  
‘ predestination, universal grace, inherent righteousness,  
‘ the preferring of charity before knowledge, the merit  
‘ (or reward rather) of good works; the thirty-nine  
‘ articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also, of some  
‘ catholick sense; that their churches begin to look with  
‘ a new face, their walls to speak a new language, and  
‘ some of their divines to teach, that the church hath  
‘ authority in determining controversies of faith, and in-  
‘ terpreting the scriptures; that men in talk and writing,  
‘ use willingly the once fearful names of priests and  
‘ altars, and are now put in mind, that, for exposition  
‘ of scripture, they are by canon bound to follow the

‘ fathers.

*The LIFE of CHARLES I.*  
 employments of great trust and profit (RR),  
 and

(m) *Life of*  
*Laud, p.*  
*252.*

‘ fathers. So far the jesuit may be thought to speak ‘ nothing but truth (m).’ How far this new face and new language was acceptable to the nation, will hereafter at large appear. In the mean while I shall only remark, that it seems not over-honourable to resemble a harlot, as the church of *Rome* is stiled in the Homilies.

(n) *Rush-*  
*worth, vol.*  
*i. p. 18.*

(RR) *Professed papists were advanced to employments of great trust and profit, &c.*] Great complaints were made in parliament of the growth of popery, and the favour which was shewn to the professors of it. In the first year of this reign a petition was delivered to his majesty on this subject, and ‘ he was desired to order the laws to

(o) *Prynne’s*  
*popish royal*  
*favorite, p.*  
*1, 4to.*  
*Lond. 1643.*

‘ be put in execution against recusants, and to remove ‘ from places of authority and government all popish ‘ recusants, which he promised to do (n).’ But yet, notwithstanding this promise, we find several ‘ letters of ‘ grace, protection, and warrants of discharge, granted ‘ by his majesty to notorious popish recusants, priests and ‘ jesuits, to exempt them from all prosecutions and penal ‘ laws against them, signed with the king’s own hand (o).’ Had this been all, setting aside the breach of his word, the king, I think, would not have been much to blame; it seeming not so very equitable to punish men, meerly for not worshipping the eternal and all-seeing Mind in a way and manner their consciences approve not of. But *Charles* went much farther than this. *Windebank*, a notorious *Roman catholic*, by the procurement of *Laud* (p), was made secretary of state; *Weston*, lord-treasurer, was universally believed by the protestants to be of the same profession (q); *Cottingham*, chancellor of the exchequer, had been reconciled in *Spain* to the *Romish* church (tho<sup>a</sup> he joined in all parts of worship according to the church of *England*), and died in her communion, in the same country (r). Sir *Kenelm Digby*, sir *Toby Matthew*, *Wal-*

(p) *Laud’s*  
*diary, by*  
*Wharton,*  
*p. 47.*

(q) *Clarendon,*  
*vol. i.*  
*p. 50. \**

(r) *Id. vol.*  
*vi. p. 380.*

\* See also *Strafforde’s* letters and dispatches, vol. i. p. 381, where Mr. *Garrard*, relating the circumstances of his death, says, it is whispered and believed that he died a *Roman catholic*, and had all the ceremonies of that church performed to him at his death.

and not a few converts were made to the im-

ter *Mountague*, were all in high favour at court, though they made no scruple of owning their principles, and openly attempting to make converts. Nor must we omit to mention, in this place, that *Charles* admitted *Gregorio Panzani*, an *Italian*, and *George Con*, a *Scot*, and afterwards count *Rosetti*, to reside about the court, as agents, or nuncios from the see of *Rome*. The first was sent over in the latter end of the year 1635, by pope *Urban VIII.* on no other pretence, says *Heylin*, ' than to prevent a schism which was then like to be made between the regulars and the secular priests, to the great scandal of that church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other designs, which were not fit to be discovered unto vulgar eyes. By many secret artifices he works himself into the favour of *Cottington*, *Windebank*, and other great men about the court. And he found some way to move the king for the permission of an agent from the pope to be addressed to the queen, for the concernments of her religion; which the king, with the advice and consent of his council, condescended to, upon condition that the party sent should be no priest (s). The nobleman, whom I have already (s) *Life of* quoted, tells us, ' that *Panzani*, when he arrived at *London*, saluted the queen, and afterwards the king (s) *Laud*, p. 305. ' also, who received and treated him with much kindness, telling him, that he was very welcome: yea, his majesty remained uncovered during all the discourse and entertainment (t). ' *Panzani*, having laid the (t) *The* foundation of an agency, or constant correspondence *popes num* between the queen's court and the pope's, left the pur- *tios*, p. 71. suit of the design to *Con*, a *Scot* by birth, but of a very busy and pragmatical head. Arriving in *England* about the middle of summer, anno 1636, he brought with him many pretended reliques of saints, medals, and pieces of gold with the pope's picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that party, but principally amongst the ladies of the court and country, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications.

impious and ill-natured tenets of the see of Rome.

‘ He found the king and queen at *Holdenby-house*, and by the queen was very graciously entertained, and took up his chief lodgings in a house near the New Exchange. As soon as the court was returned to *Whitehall*, he applied himself diligently to his work, practising upon some of the principal lords, and making himself very plausible with the king himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the court of Rome, for facilitating the restitution of the prince elector.— By the king’s connivance, and the queen’s indulgence, the popish faction gathered not only strength, but confidence; multiplying in some numbers about the court, and resorting in more open manner to the masses at *Somerſet-house*, where the *Capuchins* had obtained both a chappel and convent (u).’ The abbot *Chambres*, who was dispatched into *Scotland* by the cardinal duke de *Richlieu*, to foment the commotions there in the year 1639, was nephew to this *Con*, who had received so many favours and civilities from the king and queen of *Great Britain* (w).’ Such are the returns to be expected from men animated by a blind zeal for superstition! Such the rewards to be hoped for from favouring our avowed foes!—The authority of *Heylin*, in this matter, will hardly be questioned by those who are acquainted with his principles. But that I may put the encouragement and growth of popery under *Charles* out of all manner of doubt, I will add proofs little known of it, though they are most authentic.

Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter to the lord-deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London*, 23 *March*, 1636, has the following passage. ‘ *Dr. Haywood*, late household-chaplain to my lord’s grace of *Canterbury*, now the king’s, parson of *St. Giles’s in the Fields*, where he lives, brought a petition to my lord’s grace, and the other lords of his majesty’s council, complaining, that in a very short time a great part of his parishoners are become papists, and refuse to come to church. The wolf that has been amongst them is a jesuit, one *Morse*, who since this

‘ com-

(u) Heylin’s life of Laud, p. 358.

(w) D’eftrade’s letters, p. 8; Sydney’s state-papers, vol. ii. p. 599.

Rome. These things gave very great offence  
to

‘ complaint is, they say, by order apprehended and committed to prison. Popery certainly increaseth much amongst us, and will do so still, as long as there is such access of all sorts of *English* to the chape in *Somerſet-houſe*, utterly forbidden and puniſhable by the laws of the land. I wiſh, and pray to God with all my heart, that the biſhops of *England* would take this growth of popery into their conſiderations, and ſeek by all means to retard that, as well as puniſh by ſuſpenſion and other ways thoſe called puritan miniſters (x).’ (x) Straſforde’s letters, vol. ii. p. 57.  
The ſame gentleman, in a letter to the ſame nobleman, dated *Lond. Ap. 28, 1637*, writes thus: ‘ *Wat Montague* is come again into *England*, lodged in the *Cockpit* by the lord-chamberlain’s favour, hath kiſſed the king and queen’s hands, lives much in court, and is a great companion of ſignor *Con’s*, the agent for *Rome*. Another of my familiar acquaintance is gone over to the popiſh religion, ſir *Robert Howard*, which I am very ſorry for.—*Monday* in *Eaſter-week*, my lord *Andover*, *Berkeſhire’s* eldeſt ſon, was married by a popiſh prieſt to Mrs. *Doll Savage* (y).’ (y) Id. p.

This *Wat*, or *Walter Montague*, was younger brother<sup>73</sup> to *Edward* earl of *Mancheſter*, better known by the title of lord *Kimbolton*. He had changed his religion abroad, was made lord-abbot of *Pontois*, and became an adherent to *Mazarine*, and a favourite of *Ann of Auſtria*. He died in the year 1669 (z).—But to proceed. Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter of *Nov. 9th, 1637*, tells the ſaid lord, (z) Wood’s Faſti, c. 162.  
‘ That there hath been an horrible noiſe about the lady *Newport’s* being become a *Roman catholic*: ſhe went one evening, as ſhe came from a play in *Drury-lane*, to *Somerſet-houſe*, where one of the *Capuchins* reconciled her to the popiſh church, of which ſhe is now a weak member (a).’ And in another letter of his, dated (a) Straſforde, vol. ii. p. 128.  
*London, May 12th, 1638*, we have the following narration.—‘ The conde de *Oniate*, the *Spaniſh* ambaffador, accompanied with an *Iriſh* gentleman of the order of *Calatrava*, in the holy week, came to *Denmark-houſe*;  
‘ to

to many, and induced them to believe, that  
*Charles*

‘ to do his devotions in the queen’s chapple there : he  
 ‘ went off thence about ten o’clock, a dozen torches  
 ‘ carried before him by his servants, and some behind  
 ‘ him : he and the *Irish* gentleman were in the front,  
 ‘ with their beads in their hands, which hung at a cross :  
 ‘ some *English* also were among them ; so that with their  
 ‘ own company, and many who followed after, they  
 ‘ appeared a great troop. They walk from *Denmark-*  
 ‘ *house* down the *Strand* in great formality, turn into  
 ‘ *Covent-garden*, thence to seignior *Con*’s house in *Long-*  
 ‘ *acre*, so to his own house in *Queen-street*. The next  
 ‘ day the report went, that the *Spanish* ambassador had  
 ‘ gone in procession openly through the streets ; but it  
 ‘ was no other thing than what I have related to your  
 ‘ lordship : yet the king took it ill at his hands, and ex-  
 ‘ postulated it with him, and gave order for questioning  
 ‘ those *English* who were in his company. ’Tis true,  
 ‘ notwithstanding all the care and vigilancy of the king,  
 ‘ and prelates, taken for the suppressing of popery, yet  
 ‘ it much increaseth about *London*, and these pompous  
 ‘ shews of the sepulchre contribute much to it ; for they  
 ‘ grow common : they are not only set up now in the  
 ‘ queen’s chapel, for which there is some reason, but also  
 ‘ in the ambassadors houses, in *Con*’s lodgings, nay, at  
 ‘ *York-house*, and in my lord of *Worcester*’s house, if they  
 ‘ be not liars who tell it. Our great women fall away  
 ‘ every day. My lady *Maltravers* is a declared papist ;  
 ‘ and also my lady *Katherine Howard*.—The lieutenant  
 ‘ of the Tower, sir *William Balfour*, beat a priest lately,  
 ‘ for seeking to convert his wife : he had a suspicion that  
 ‘ she resorted a little too much to *Denmark-house*, and  
 ‘ staid long abroad, which made him one day send after  
 ‘ her. Word being brought him where she was, he  
 ‘ goes thither, finds her at her devotions in the chapel ;  
 ‘ he beckons her out, she comes accompanied with a  
 ‘ priest, who somewhat too saucily reprehended the  
 ‘ lieutenant for disturbing his lady in her devotions ; for  
 ‘ which he struck him two or three sound blows with  
 ‘ his

Charles himself, in heart, was a papist, and that

his battoon, and the next day came and told the king the whole passage, so it passed over (b).—Lord Clarendon's account of the state of popery in this reign, before the civil broils began, will properly conclude this note. — 'The papists, say they, had for many years enjoyed a very great calm; being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest; and were grown only a part of the revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good neighbours in the country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this prosperity, being too elate and transported with the protection and connivance they received: though I am persuaded their numbers increased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the state, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to masques to Somerset-house, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the same barefacedness as others came from the Savoy, or other neighbour churches. They attempted and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage, and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression: they grew not only secret contrivers, but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most odious, and the most grievous projects: as in that of soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almost a corporation of that religion; which, under that licence and notion, might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The priests, and such as were in orders (orders that in themselves were punishable with death), were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkned to; in-  
much

(b) Strafforde, vol. ii. p. 165.

that he intended to introduce popery into his kingdoms: but it is probable they were mistaken in their conjectures (ss).

But

‘ much as a jesuit at *Paris*, who was coming for *England*, had the boldness to visit the ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and, offering his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if there had been no laws there for his reception. And for the most invidious protection and countenance of that whole party, a public agent from *Rome* (first Mr. *Con*, a *Scotishman*, and after him the count of *Rosetti*, an *Italian*) resided at *London* in great port; publicly visited the court, and was avowedly resorted to by the catholicks of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was caressed and presented magnificently by the ladies of honour who inclined to that profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made publick collections of money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the queen, and to be by her majesty presented as a free-will offering from his *Roman* catholick subjects to the king, for the carrying on the war against the *Scots*; which drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to the queen herself; as if she desired to suppress the protestant religion in one kingdom as well as the other, by the arms of the *Roman* catholicks. To conclude, they carried themselves so; as if they had been suborned by the *Scots* to root out their own religion (c).’ This description, as an ingenious writer observes, would almost

(c) Clarendon, vol. i. p. 148.

(d) Enquiry into the share which K. Charles I. had in the transactions of the earl of Glamorgan, p. 293, 8vo. Lond. 1747.

have suited the reign of king *James II.* (d) (ss) *Many believed Charles himself was a papist, — but they were mistaken, &c.*] ‘ I hear,’ says Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter to the lord-deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London*, Dec. 16, 1637, ‘ of certain papers scattered lately in *Somerfet-house*, directed to the lords of his majestie’s council, wherein it is said, that half his majestie’s council are of the *Romish* religion already; and that lying



But though there might not have been any intention to submit to *Rome*, yet it is well

‘ lying scribler, whoever he was, perswades the rest to  
 ‘ comply that way, otherwise they would have scorns  
 ‘ and disgraces put upon them by his majesty; for all  
 ‘ would run that way within one half. A bold and high  
 ‘ impudence! I pray God he may be found, that  
 ‘ he may receive condign punishment (e).’ But this (e) Straf-  
 scribler was not singular in the thought that popery forde’s let-  
 was intended to be established here, as appears from the ters, vol. ii.  
 two following passages in *Laud’s* diary. 1633, Aug. 2. P. 142.  
 ‘ That very morning at *Greenwich*, there came one to  
 ‘ me, seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it,  
 ‘ and offered me to be a cardinal: I went presently to the  
 ‘ king, and acquainted him both with the thing and the  
 ‘ person. Aug. 17, *Saturday*, I had a serious offer made  
 ‘ to me again to be a cardinal: I was then from court;  
 ‘ but so soon as I came thither (which was *Wednesday*  
 ‘ Aug. 21), I acquainted his majesty with it. But my  
 ‘ answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me,  
 ‘ which would not suffer that, till *Rome* were other than  
 ‘ it is (f).’ Appearances certainly must have been (f) Laud’s  
 greatly in favour of Romanism, when the head of the diary, by  
 church of *England* was thought not indisposed to com- Wharton,  
 mence a member of the sacred colledge. We are not P. 49.  
 therefore to wonder, that Mr. *Prynne* imagined ‘ *Laud’s*  
 ‘ end was, that popery might creep in among us by de-  
 ‘ grees, without the least opposition or impeach-  
 ‘ ment (g).’ However, it does not appear that *Charles* (g) Canter-  
 or the archbishop had any such intentions. bury’s doom,  
 P. 184.

‘ He [*Charles*] was ill thought of by many, especially  
 ‘ the puritans, then so called (says *Lilly*), for suffering  
 ‘ the chapple at *Somerset-house* to be built for the queen,  
 ‘ where mass was publickly said: yet he was no papist,  
 ‘ or favoured any of their tenets, nor do I remember any  
 ‘ such thing was ever objected against him.—Many  
 ‘ also have blamed him for writing unto the pope when  
 ‘ he was in *Spain*; others think ill of him for the many  
 ‘ reprieves

well known that *Charles* aimed at a thing  
most

‘reprieves he gave unto seminary priests, and Mr. *Pryn*  
‘sweats to no purpose in aggravating his offence there-  
‘by. Why might he not as well, in a civil way, write  
‘unto the pope, as write and send his ambaffador to the  
‘great *Turk*, I know not; and for his mercy to those  
‘priests, who had not occasioned rebellion in his domi-  
‘nions, truly charity bids me to make rather a good  
‘than ill construction. And were not the common law  
‘of this nation more in force than the canon of scrip-  
‘ture, those things could not be justified, putting men to  
‘death for religion, or taking orders beyond sea (*h*).’

(*h*) Lilly,  
p. 16.

And archbishop *Usher* left a memorandum, in his own  
hand-writing, in the following words: ‘The king once  
‘at *Whitehall*, in the presence of *George* duke of *Bucking-*  
‘*ham*, of his own accord, said to me, that he never loved  
‘popery in all his life; but that he never detested it be-  
‘fore his going into *Spain* (*i*).’ Dr. *Ryves* also, in a

(*i*) *Usher’s*  
life, by *Parr*,  
p. 39.

postscript to a letter to the said archbishop, dated Oct. 8,  
1623, writes: ‘No one doubts but that the prince went  
‘a good protestant out of *England*; but it is as certain,  
‘thanks be given to God for it, that he is returned out  
‘of *Spain* tenfold more confirmed in our’s, more obdu-  
‘rate against their religion than ever he was before (*k*).’

(*k*) Id. p.  
302.

I will add but a proof or two more. ‘His daughter,  
‘the lady *Elizabeth*, being admitted to see him the day  
‘before his execution, he bid her read bishop *Andrew’s*  
‘sermons, *Hooker’s* ecclesiastical polity, and bishop *Laud’s*  
‘book against *Fisher*, which would ground her against  
‘popery (*l*).’ And in his speech on the scaffold he has

(*l*) King  
*Charles’s*  
works, p.  
206.

the following passage.—‘My conscience in religion, I  
‘think, is very well known to all the world; and there-  
‘fore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, ac-  
‘cording to the profession of the church of *England*, as  
‘I found it left me by my father: and this honest man  
‘[Dr. *Juxon*], I think, will witness it (*m*).’ Is not this  
very strong, considered as coming from the mouth of a  
dying man? Need we more proofs that *Charles* was not  
a papist himself? or shall we yet suspect that the intro-  
duction

(*m*) Id. p.  
209.

most prejudicial to truth, honesty, and the public

duction of popery was what he had in his view? Forbid it, charity! forbid it, candor!

It is very remarkable, that sir *Edward Dering* and Mr. *May* acquit *Laud* also of any such purpose. 'His [*Laud's*] book, lately set forth (especially for the latter half thereof), hath muzzled the jesuit, and shall strike the papist under the fifth rib, when he is dead and gone (n).—' The archbishop of *Canterbury* was much against the court of *Rome*, though not against the church, in so high a kinde: for the doctrine of the *Roman* church was no enemy to the pompe of prelacy; but the doctrine of the court of *Rome* would have swallowed up all under the pope's supremacy, and have made all greatness dependant upon him: which the archbishop conceived would derogate too much from the king in temporals (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the court), as it would from himself in spirituals, and make his metropolitical power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the realme of *England* (o). In short, whoever considers that *Laud* was the instrument of reclaiming *Chillingworth* from popery, that he was his patron, and the encourager of his writing that immortal book *The Religion of Protestants*; I say, whoever considers but this, will go near to acquit him from popery, and the design to establish it (p).—I shall conclude this note with observing, that if any stress was to be laid on a little book entitled, '*Certamen religiosum*: or a conference between K. *Charles I.* and *Henry* late marquis of *Worcester*, concerning religion in *Ragland-castle*, printed at *London* 1649, in 12mo.' this monarch must be looked on as a good protestant: for he therein shews zeal for the reformation, and a detestation of the church of *Rome*. But the authority of this book was not admitted by *Charles's* friends (q); and neither the diction or sentiments seem well to agree with his genuine undoubted writings, and consequently nothing is to be concluded from thence in his favour. The publisher of this piece

was

(n) *Dering's* speeches, p. 5.

(o) *May's* parliamentary history, p. 25.

(p) See *Maizeaux's* life of *Chillingworth*, p. 9--13, 8vo. *London*. 1725.

(q) See *Wood's* *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 568.

public welfare, even uniformity in modes and forms (TT).

This

was *Thomas Baylie*, D. D. subdean of *Wells*, who afterwards turned to the *Romish* communion, and was very bitter against all who followed not his example.

(TT) Charles aimed at a thing most prejudicial—uniformity in modes and forms.] *Heylin* shall be my authority for the fact.

*Laud* had not sate long in the chaire of *Canterbury*, when he procured an order from the lords of the council, bearing date Oct. 1, 1633, by which their *English* churches and regiments in *Holland* (and afterwards by degrees in all other foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the *English* liturgy, with all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in it.—And now at last, says he, we have the face of an *English* church in *Holland*, responsal to the bishops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their diocess, directly and immediately subject to their jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our factories in *Hamborough*, and those further off, that is to say, in *Turkey*, in the *Mogul's* dominions, the *Indian* islands, the plantations in *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the *English* had any standing residence in the way of trade. The like done also for regulating the divine service in the families of all embassadors residing in the courts of foreign princes for his majestie's service; as also in the *English* regiments serving under the States.—The *English* agents and embassadors in the courts of foreign princes, had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the church of *England* as they might have been, in designing a set room for religious uses, and keeping up the vestments, rites, and ceremonies prescribed by law in performance of them. It was now hoped, that there would be a church of *England* in all courts of *Christendom*, in the chief cities of the *Turk*, and other great mahometan princes, in all our factories and plantations in every known part of the world, by which it might be rendered as diffuse and catholick

This was pressed every where, both on natives and foreigners, and no liberty was to

‘ as the church of *Rome* (r).’ An admirable design (r) Life of this, truly, and well worthy the politics and piety of this Laud, p. 276.  
 reign! I suppose our modern propagators of the gospel have the like hopeful project in view. These men pretend to go abroad to convert *Indians* and *Negroes* to the worship of the true God, and to the faith of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and raise large contributions on the ignorant well-disposed, for this end, as they say: when, in fact, the *Indians* are now totally neglected (s), the *Negroes* little (s) See Humphry’s account of the society for the propagation of the gospel, p. 306-311, 8vo. Lond. 1730.  
 minded, and the whole end of the mission is to obtain a handsome maintenance, (which in these kingdoms, for certain reasons, cannot be got) by converting better Christians than themselves to what is called the church of *England*, that is, to its modes and forms; for as to its faith, so far as it is christian, they are already possessed of it. The reader, I hope, will pardon this digression, which indignation, at such an imposition on the public, has drawn from me. But to go on with the history. *Laud*, having thus begun, determined to proceed and reduce all the inhabitants of the land to a thorough conformity. He therefore attacked the *Walloon* and *Dutch* churches, founded by letters patent from *Edward VI.* He looked on their churches as nests and occasions of schism; and thought it better there were no foreign churches or strangers in *England*, than have them thereby give occasion of prejudice or danger to the church-government of it; and therefore insisted, that all the natives of these churches should repair to the several parish-churches where they inhabited, to hear divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf (t). Upon this they (r) Id. p. 278.  
 petitioned for the enjoyment of their accustomed liberty, and made use of powerful intercessors; but all was ineffectual. Nothing but conformity would satisfy, though thereby the greatest mischief was done. ‘ For by these injunctions, says *Rushworth*, the foreign churches were molested and disquieted several years together, for re-  
 P fusing

to be obtained, though it was most earnestly re-

(u) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 273.

‘ fusing conformity ; and some of their ministers, and others of their congregations, deserted the kingdom, and went beyond seas (u).’ Thus were the inhabitants driven out of the kingdom, manufactures sent abroad, and wealth diminished, meerly for the sake of causing men to attend the parish-churches, and make payments thereunto !

(w) Heylin’s life of Laud, p. 292.

(x) Id. p. 293.

Nor did the ministers of the *English* church, who were inconformable, come much better off. Some, who refused reading the declaration about lawful sports, were suspended, and others sequestred ; and nothing was to be heard of but injunctions about placing the communion-table altar-wise, adorations towards it, officiating in copes, standing up at the creed and gospel, and doxologies, and bowing at the name of *Jesus* (w). ‘ These by degrees, says *Heylin*, drew on such reformation in cathedral churches, that they recovered once again their antient splendor, and served for an example to the parish churches which related to them (x).’ In short, according to the same author, things were so far advanced in the year 1637, ‘ that little or no noise was raised about the publishing the book of sports, or silencing the Calvinian doctrines, according to his majesty’s declaration before the articles : no clamour touching the transposing of the holy table, which went on leisurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some stood still. The metropolitical visitation, and the care of the bishops, had settled these particulars in so good a way, that men’s passions began to calm, and their thoughts to come to some repose, when the commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were (y).’

(y) Id. p. 356.

And in order to establish the hierarchy in its then form, and prevent all attempts for an alteration, in the convocation held in the year 1640, the following, among other canons, was enacted. Canon VI. ‘ The synod decrees, that all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, shall, before the 2d of *November* next, take  
‘ the

to

the following oath; which shall be tendered by the bishop in person, or some grave divine deputed by him, and shall be taken in presence of a public notary.

The OATH.

"I A. B. do swear that I do approve the doctrine, discipline, or government established in the church of *England*, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of *Rome*."

This oath was appointed to be taken by all that were incorporated in either of the universities, or take any degree, whether lawyers, divines, or physicians; all governors of halls or colleges in the universities; all schoolmasters, and all that enter into holy orders, or have licence to preach.—This was the famous oath, the subject of ridicule, contempt, and censure.

*Laud*, not content with what was done in *England*, determined to bring *Scotland* and *Ireland* to join in the same profession of faith, and in the same modes and forms. Of *Scotland* I shall hereafter speak. Of *Ireland* I will relate some facts, which are in themselves curious, and little known.—*Usher* formed articles of religion for the church of *Ireland* in the year 1615. These were approved in the convocation there, and confirmed by king *James*. Like those of the church of *England*, they were Calvinistical; but being drawn up by a man of sense, they opposed vehemently the popish doctrines, and priestly claims (z). *Laud* liked not this, and therefore was not easy till he had got a canon passed in the *Irish* convocation in the year 1634, whereby the *English* articles were received, and the *Irish* thereby abolished (a). This

(z) See Heylin's life of *Laud*, p. 271.

(a) Id. p. 272. *Parr* will not allow this, tho' I think him mistaken. See his life of *Usher*, p. 42.

to the kingdom were many; but they were  
no

was matter of triumph to *Laud*, and mortification to *Usher*, whose sentiments and temper were different from the *English* metropolitans. But the manner in which this canon was obtained, does little honor to *Charles's* government, or to ecclesiastical assemblies. The particulars are contained in a letter from the lord-deputy *Wentworth* to *Laud*, dated *Dublin*, Dec. 16, 1634. ' I found, says his lordship, that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of *England*; that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops; that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A, and on others they had entered a D, which stood for *Deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of *Ireland* to be allowed and received, under the pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the convocation. I instantly sent for dean *Andrews*, the reverend clerk, who sat, forsooth, in the chair at this committee, requiring him to bring along the foresaid book of canons so noted on the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the house: this he obeyed, and herewith I send your grace both the one and the other. But when I came to open the book, and run over their *Deliberandums* in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into *Ireland*. I told him certainly, not a dean of *Limerick*, but an *Ananias* had sate in the chair of that committee; however sure I was, *Ananias* had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of *Amsterdam*: that I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure; I therefore said he should leave the book and draught with me, and that I did command him, upon his allegiance, he should report nothing to the house from that committee, till he heard again from me. Being thus



no way heeded or regarded by *Charles* or his

thus nettled, I gave present direction for a meeting, and warned the primate, the bishops of *Meath, Kilmore, Rapho, and Derry*, together with dean *Leisly* the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning. Then I publicly told them, how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiours, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith, without the privy or consent of state or bishop; what a spirit of Brownism and contradiction I observed in their *Deliberandums*, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the church, and leave every man to chuse his own high place, where liked him best. But these heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure; nor if they were disposed to be frantick in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in the convocation, or in their pulpits. First, then I required dean *Andrews*, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the committee to the house. Secondly, I enjoined dean *Leisly*, their prolocutor, that in case any of the committee should propound any question herein, yet that he should not put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and acquaint me with all. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all, touching the receiving or not of the articles of the church of *Ireland*. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving the articles of *England*, wherein he was by name and in writing to take their votes, barely, content or not content, without admitting any other discourse at all; for I would not endure that the articles of the church of *England* should be disputed. And finally, because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it; and after I had perused it, I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon to be propounded,

his ministers, who zealously pursued this  
darling

inclosed in a letter of my own. This meeting thus broke off, there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod; but, in fine, they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished. It is very true, that, for all the primate's silence, it was not possible but he knew how near they were to have brought in all those articles of *Ireland*, to the infinite disturbance and scandal of the church, as I conceive; and certainly would have been content I had been surprised. But he is so learned a prelate, and so good a man, as I do beseech your grace it may never be imputed unto him.—The primate accordingly framed a canon, a copy whereof you have here, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in *England*, which I held best for me to keep as close to as I could, and then sent it to my lord. His grace came instantly to me, and told me, he feared the canon would never pass in such form as I had made it; but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might; besought me therefore to think a little better of it. But I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late now either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse them, telling him, by the sequel, we should see whether his lordship or myself better understood their minds in that point, and by that I would be content to be judged. Only for order sake, I desired his lordship would vote this canon first in the upper house of convocation; and so voted, then to pass the question beneath also, without any delay. Then I writ a letter to dean *Leisy* (the copy whereof I likewise send), with the canon inclosed, which accordingly that afternoon was unanimously voted, first with the bishops, and then by the rest of  
the

darling plan in *England*; and even in *Ireland*,

‘ the clergy, excepting one man (b).’ His majesty and *Laud* approved of the course held in this affair (c). I think it is father *Paul* who relates, that it used to be said ‘ that the Holy Ghost was sent from *Rome* to *Trent* ‘ in a cloke-bag.’ It had not here so long a journey: it resided in the castle with the deputy, and was ready to over-rule and influence all the debates and resolution of the holy *Irish* synod. Great deference, no doubt, then ought to be paid to its determinations, and absolute submission to its decrees. The honesty, courage, and perseverance of the members demand our admiration, as well as the meekness, humility, and modesty of the lord-deputy. Surely an uniformity brought about by such methods must be most desirable! I have in the text observed, that the establishing uniformity in modes and forms is prejudicial to truth, honesty, and the public welfare. To truth it evidently is hurtful, as it hinders the impartial search after it; to honesty, as it frequently causes men to act as the *Irish* convocation here did, that is, against their own sense of things; and to the public welfare, by driving away many useful members of society into foreign countries, where liberty is given of professing their sentiments, and acting conformable to them.—The political advantages of toleration are very well described by *Puffendorf*, who had seen the world, and been conversant with government. ‘ Toleration, says he, is ‘ found by experience to produce a great increase of ‘ people in a state; because a multitude of strangers will ‘ put themselves in there, for the sake of that desired ‘ liberty, which they could not elsewhere enjoy. And ‘ in such places it is more necessary that the ministers of ‘ the church be well studied in divinity, and very exemplary in their life and manners, that they may maintain their esteem and reputation, and be free from the ‘ reproaches of the adverse party, than where they have ‘ none to emulate them, in which case they are liable to ‘ fall into sloth and ill-manners. And in such places ‘ too it commonly comes to pass, that they are wont

(b) *Stratford's letters and dispatches*, vol. i. p. 343.  
(c) *Id.* p. 278.

land, where true policy would have taught them to have formed the strongest opposition to popery, by encouraging protestants of every kind, they were not wanting to promote it.

High sounding titles were now bestowed on *Laud* (UU), who was thought willing to be

‘ with more application and endeavour to instruct and  
 ‘ confirm their people in their religion, as accounting it  
 ‘ their disparagement to have them drawn away to an-  
 ‘ other sect. But that which greatly concerns the prince  
 ‘ of such a people, where different religions are tole-  
 ‘ rated, is, that he do take care that the liberty granted  
 ‘ to all be strictly maintained, and that it be not either  
 ‘ openly violated, or by any indirect methods abridged.  
 ‘ And he must not suffer that any one party, where the  
 ‘ toleration is universal, and much rather where all have  
 ‘ the liberty of religion in their own right, do, by fac-  
 ‘ tions or secret artifices, put by those who differ from  
 ‘ them in religion from bearing offices, or withhold  
 ‘ them from any of the common benefits of subjects, or  
 ‘ be any otherwise troublesome. For indeed the prince,  
 ‘ if he does with equity and prudence manage this mat-  
 ‘ ter, will find, that those of the subjects who profess a  
 ‘ different religion from his own, will be more respectful  
 ‘ and officious to him, than those of his own religion;  
 ‘ because they will hold it a special demonstration of his  
 ‘ goodness and favour, if they find themselves not the less  
 ‘ esteemed and regarded by him for their different opi-  
 ‘ nion : when as they who profess the same religion with  
 ‘ him, will think all things their right and due that he  
 ‘ does for them, and hardly hold themselves at all obliged  
 ‘ to him for it (d).’

(d) Puffen-  
 dorf's divine  
 feudal law,  
 p. 13, 8vo.  
 Lond. 1703.

(UU) *High sounding titles were bestowed on Laud, &c.]*  
 The university of Oxford addressed him by the titles of  
*sanctitas tua, spiritu sancto effusissime plenus, summus pon-*  
*tifex, archangelus, ut ne quid nimis.* *Laud* owns this,  
 and

be here, what his holiness was at Rome :  
and

and says, ' the meanest of these titles is *multum nimis*,  
' far too much, applied to my person and unworthiness :  
' yet a great sign it is, that I deserved very well of that  
' university, in the place I then bare (the chancellor-  
' ship); or else they would never have bestowed such  
' titles upon me; and if they did offend, in giving such  
' an unworthy man such high language, why are they  
' not called in question for their own fault (e)?' We (e) Laud's  
see here the pride of the man under the guise of humi- troubles and  
lity! Had not the university known his temper, had they trial, p. 285.

not found him fond of flattery, they never had bestowed  
it on him in so fulsome a manner. But they had found  
their account in it, and therefore practised it. Besides  
these titles, he had the following also given unto him :  
*Optimus maximusque in terris; ille quo rector non stat re-*

*gula, quo prior est corrigenda religio (f).* He moreover is (f) Can-  
said ' to have took on him to be the patriarch of this terbury's  
' other world (g).' On the last of these titles, sir Ed- doome, p.  
ward Dering, in a speech to the whole house, in a com- 441.  
mittee for religion, Nov. 23, 1640, observes as follows : (g) Laud's  
troubles, p.  
' One parallel more I have, and that is this: among the 286.

' papists there is one acknowledged supream pope, su-  
' pream in honour, in order, and in power; from whose  
' judgment there is no appeal.—I confess, Mr. speaker,  
' I cannot altogether match a pope with a pope; (yet  
' one of the antient titles of our *English* primate was  
' *alterius orbis papa.*) But thus far I can go, *ex ore suo.*  
' It is in print.—He pleads fair for a patriarchate: and  
' for such an one, whose judgment he (beforehand) pro-  
' fesseth ought to be final: and then (I am sure) it ought  
' to be unerring. Put these together, and you shall find  
' that the final determination of a patriarch will want  
' very little of a pope,—and then we may say,

' —*Mutato nomine dete*

' *Fabula narratur.*

' He pleads popeship under the name of a patriarch; and  
' I much fear lest the end and top of his patriarchal  
' plea may be as that of cardinal *Pole* (his predecessor),  
' who

and churchmen were exalted to some of the

‘ who would have two heads, one *caput regale*, another  
‘ *caput sacerdotale*: a proud parallel, to set up the mitre  
‘ as high as the crowne. But herein I shall be free and  
‘ cleare: if one there must be (be it a pope, be it a pa-  
‘ triarch), this I resolve upon, for my own choice (*procul*  
‘ *a fove procul a fulmine*), I had rather serve one as far  
‘ off as *Tyber*, than to have him come so neere as the  
‘ *Thames*. A pope at *Rome* will doe me less hurt than a  
‘ patriarch may doe at *Lambeth* (h).’ Whether *Laud* in  
‘ his book pleads for a patriarchate, I cannot say, having  
‘ no opportunity to consult it. But what he says in answer  
‘ to this charge, I shall give in his own words. ‘ Let any  
‘ man look into that place of my book, and he shall find  
‘ that I make use of that passage only to prove, that the  
‘ pope could not be appealed unto out of *England*, ac-  
‘ cording to their own doctrine; which I hope is no blas-  
‘ phemy. As for *St. Anselme*, howsoever he was swayed  
‘ with the corruptions of his time, yet was he in other  
‘ things worthy the testimony which the authors by me  
‘ cited give him. And if any man be angry that the  
‘ archbishop of *Canterbury* is called the patriarch of this  
‘ other world, he may be pleased to remember, that *St.*  
‘ *Jerom* gives *St. Augustine*, who was bishop of *Hippo*,  
‘ and no archbishop, a greater title than that: for he  
‘ writes, *beatissimo papae Augustino*, more than once and  
‘ againe (i).’ It does not seem by this that he was  
‘ charged wrongfully. This appealing to the fathers, and  
‘ justifying names and things by them, would pass well  
‘ enough in *Laud*’s time. But soon after, *Daille* assaulted  
‘ their authority with vigour, and amongst protestants it  
‘ continually lost ground. At present it seems little re-  
‘ garded amongst men of sense, who have perused the  
‘ writings of *Barbeyrac* and *Middleton*, *Le Clerc* and *Fortin*.  
‘ May it never more be revered! But may the New Testa-  
‘ ment alone have authority in matters of religion; and  
‘ then we need not fear of hearing of popes or patriarchs  
‘ in *England*, or seeing them assume the pomp and garb,  
‘ the power and cruelty, for which the wretches adorned  
‘ with

(h) Dering’s  
 speeches, p.  
 14.

(i) Laud’s  
 troubles, p.  
 286.

219

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.

the highest civil dignities (ww), though not  
very

with these titles have been, for the most part, in all ages distinguished.

(ww) *Churchmen were exalted to some of the highest civil dignities, &c.* ] ‘ There have been some who pretended to understand the scripture literally, and who would make mankind believe the poverty and low estate, which was recommended to the church in its infancy, and was only temporary doctrine adapted to her under persecution, was to be preserved in her flourishing and established state. The principles of Toland, Woolston, and all the free-thinkers, in the opinion of parson Barnabas, are not calculated to do half the mischief as those professed by these sort of men (k).’ (k) See Joseph Andrews, vol. i. p. 119, 12mo. Lond. 1742.

Whether Charles was himself, by ratiocination, convinced of the necessity of bestowing wealth, dignity, and power on men who professed themselves to be the more immediate ministers of him, who declared his kingdom was not of this world; or whether he was taught the expediency and necessity of so doing, by those who love to harrangue on mortification, self-denial, contempt of the world; patience, and submission to God’s will, and the meanness and worthlessness of all things here below, in comparison of that happiness which the good are taught to believe and expect in a future state. I say, which soever of these was the cause, certain it is Charles was a friend to churchmen, as far as conferring on them this world’s goods could make him so. In the beginning of his reign, ‘ he sent for all the bishops to come to him at four o’clock in the afternoon. We waited upon him, fourteen in number. Then his majesty chid us, that in this time of parliament we were silent in the cause of the church, and did not make known to him what might be useful, or was prejudicial to the church, professing himself ready to promote the cause of the church (l).’ Nor were these barely words. Laud, in 1634, was named one of the commissioners for the exchequer, and was called into the foreign committee by the king (m). These preferments Dr. Grey was ignorant 51.

(l) Laud’s diary, by Wharton, p. 32.  
(m) Id. p. 51.

very well qualified for them.—But this was  
not

(n) Examination of  
Neale's 2d  
vol. p. 82.

(o) Vol. i.  
p. 98, &c.

(p) Laud's  
diary, p. 33.

(q) Clarendon,  
vol. i.  
p. 99.

rant of (n); and for his information, as well as to do justice to the subject in hand, I mention them. How ill qualified he was for the business of the exchequer, and how rigorous and severe he was in his speech and behaviour, those who have a mind may see in lord *Clarendon* (o). About a year afterwards, *William Juxon*, lord bishop of *London*, was made lord high treasurer of *England*. 'No churchman, adds *Laud*, had it since *Henry VIII*'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the church may have honor \*, and the king and the state service and contentment by it. And now, if the church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more (p).' The archbishop seemed to imagine, we see, that *Jesus Christ* was not so well skilled as himself in the means of making the church hold up themselves, under God. But he was mistaken. 'For this promotion of *Juxon*'s inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop (who was the known architect of this new fabrick), but most unjustly indisposed many towards the church itself; which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest (q).' The same noble author speaks with grief of some clergymen's bold and unwarrantable opposing (at this time) and protesting against prohibitions, and other proceed-

\* The following lines in Dryden's character of a good parson, are worthy the consideration of the reader, who thinks the church may receive honor by state-trappings.

The prelate for his holy life he priz'd,  
The worldly pomp of prelacy despis'd.  
His Saviour came not with a gaudy show;  
Nor was his kingdom of the world below:  
Patience in want, and poverty of mind,  
These marks of church and churchmen he design'd,  
And living taught, and dying left behind.  
The crown he wore was of the pointed thorn:  
In purple he was crucify'd, not born.  
They who contend for place and high degree,  
Are not his sons, but those of Zebedee.

ings



not all.---Great hardships were suffered by  
all

ings at law, on the behalf of ecclesiastical courts;  
and the procuring some orders and privileges from the  
king, on the behalf of the civil law, even with an ex-  
clusion of the other: as the archbishop of *Canterbury*,  
says he, prevailed with the king to direct, that half the  
masters of the chancery should be always civil law-  
yers; and to declare that no others, of what condition  
soever, should serve him as masters of request (r).'

(r) Claren-  
don, vol. ii.  
p. 305.

And to what a pitch of pride the prelates were arrived,  
we may learn from Mr. *Whitlock*. 'In the censure of  
*Bastwick*, says he, all the bishops then present denied  
openly that they held their jurisdiction, as bishops, from  
the king, for which perhaps they might have been cen-  
sured themselves in the times of *Hen. II.* or *Ed. III.*  
But they affirmed, that they had their jurisdiction from  
God only, which denial of the supremacy of the  
king, under God, *Hen. VIII.* would have taken ill,  
and it may be would have confused them by his kingly  
arguments, and *regia manu*; but these bishops publicly  
disavowed their dependance on the king (s).'

(s) Whit-  
lock, p. 22.

And in *Michaelmas* term, in the year 1631, certain  
questions were propounded to the judges, touching the  
clergy.

1. Whether clergymen were bound to find watch and  
ward, day or night? To this the answer was deferred.

2. Whether clergymen might be compelled to take  
apprentices, by the statute 43 *Eliz.* of the poor. The  
judges answered, that no man was out of the statute;  
and gave their reasons.

This case, says the author, I have reported, because  
it sheweth somewhat of the expectation and temper of  
the clergy in that time (t).

(t) Id. p. 17.

I will conclude this note with the words of *May*.—  
Archbishop *Laud*, who was grown into great favour  
with the king, made use of it especially to advance the  
pompe and temporal honour of the clergy, procuring  
the lord treasurer's place for Dr. *Juxon*, bishop of  
*London*; and endeavouring, as the general report went,

to

all those who refused to submit to the ecclesiastical yoke, now attempted to be put on the necks of *Englishmen*, and very severe punishments were inflicted (xx) on those who

‘ to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of  
 ‘ that coat ; inſomuch as the people merrily, when they  
 ‘ ſaw the treaſurer with the other biſhops riding to *West-*  
 ‘ *miſter*, called the Church Triumphant. Doctours and  
 ‘ parſons of pariſhes were made every where juſtices of  
 ‘ peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil  
 ‘ affairs, and depriving them of their ſpiritual edifica-  
 ‘ tion. The archbiſhop, by the ſame means which he  
 ‘ uſed to preſerve his clergy from contempt, expoſed  
 ‘ them to envy ; and, as the wiſeſt could then prophecy,  
 ‘ to more than probability of loſing all (u).’

(u) Parlia-  
 mentary  
 hiſtory, p.  
 23.

(xx) *Severe puniſhments were inflicted, &c.*] Nothing is more amazing than that there ſhould have been men of ſenſe and reaſon, who have countenanced perſecution in all its kinds and degrees. But it is aſtoniſhing there ſhould have been any, who pretended to be followers of the meek and merciful *Jeſus*, who dared to praſiſe it: of *Jeſus*, who

—held it more humane, more heav’nly fiſt  
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,  
 And make perſuaſion do the work of fear ;  
 At leaſt to try, and teach the erring ſoul  
 Not wilfully miſ-doing, but unware  
 Miſſed ; the ſtubborn only to ſubdue.

*Milton.*

But too true it is, there have been many who profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, who have acted directly contrary hereunto ; and who have ſeemed to imagine that they had a right to beat their fellow-ſervants, for not ſubmitting to their uſurped ſway. Of this ſort were the ruling part of *Charles’s* clergy, who were permitted by him to wreak their malice and revenge on thoſe who oppoſed them. The hardſhips of the non-conformiſts in this reign

had courage enough publicly to oppose them.

reign are well known. They were suspended, deprived, excommunicated, and by means thereof forced to leave their habitations, and seek shelter in wildernesses in a foreign land, where they found that protection which their country refused them, became rich and powerful, and are now one great source of our trade and commerce.

To enter into a detail of the hardships which the puritans suffered will be needless, as the reader may see them in one view in a late *Essay towards attaining a true Idea of this Reign*, written by a very ingenious gentleman. I will only give the following specimen of the ecclesiastical proceedings in this time, from sir *Edward Dering*, who, in a speech to the house, Nov. 10, 1640, has the following words. ‘ Mr. speaker, I will present unto you the petition of a poor oppressed minister in the county of *Kent*: a man orthodox in his doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the ministerie, as any we have, or I do know. He is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the general obloquy of a puritan.—The pursuivant watches his doore, and divides him and his cure asunder, to both their greifs. —About a week since I went over to *Lambeth*, to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from this minister, and to recall the pursuivant. And withal I did undertake for Mr. *Wilson* (for so your petitioner is called), that he should answer his accusers in any of the king’s courts at *Westminster*. The bishop made me answer (as well as I can remember), in *hæc verba*, “ I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together, and then (I doubt not) but once in a year he shall have him.” This was all I could obtain; but I hope (by the help of this house), before this year of threats run round, his grace will either have more grace, or no grace at all. For our manifold griefs doe fill a mighty and vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow doe lead unto him, and point at him, the center  
‘ from

them. The sufferings of *Leighton*, *Prynne*,  
*Bast-*

(w) Dering's  
speeches,  
p. 9.

‘ from whence our miseries in this church, and many of  
‘ them in the commonwealth, doe flow (w).’

‘Tis very remarkable, that *Milton* was hindered from  
engaging in the ministerial office, by the consideration of  
the church-tyranny which was at this time erected. He  
was destined, he tells us, from a child, to the service of  
the church, by the intentions of his parents and friends,  
and his own resolutions: ‘Till, says he, coming to  
‘ some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny  
‘ had invaded the church, that he who would take or-  
‘ ders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal,  
‘ which unless he took with a conscience that would  
‘ retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith;  
‘ I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before  
‘ the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with  
‘ servitude and forswearing (x).’

(x) Profe-  
works, vol  
i. p. 65.

Let us now proceed to the punishments inflicted on  
the opposers of these kind of sovereign tyrannical eccle-  
siasticks. In 1630, *Alexander Leighton* was prosecuted in  
the Star-chamber, for writing a book intituled, ‘ An Ap-  
‘ peal to the Parliament, or *Sion's Plea* against Prelacy;’  
and by reason hereof it was decreed, ‘ That *Leighton*  
‘ should be committed to the Fleet, during life, unless  
‘ his majesty should be graciously pleased to enlarge him;  
‘ to pay a fine of 10,000 *l.* to the king; to be degraded  
‘ of his ministry; be brought into the pillory at *West-*  
‘ *minster* (the court sitting), and there whipt; and after  
‘ his whipping, be set upon the pillory for some conve-  
‘ nient space, and have one of his ears cropt off, and his  
‘ nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double SS,  
‘ for a sower of sedition: be then carried to the prison  
‘ of the Fleet, and at some other time be carried into  
‘ the pillory at *Cheapside*, upon a market-day, and be  
‘ there likewise whipt, and then be set upon the pillory,  
‘ and have his other ear cut off; and from thence be  
‘ carried back to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain  
‘ during life, unless his majesty shall be graciously pleased  
‘ to enlarge him (y).’ This sentence, as far as the cor-  
poral

(y) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
ii. p. 56.

*Bastwick*, and *Burton*, are read still with  
horror

poral punishment was concerned, was executed in its full rigour. The long parliament, happily for him, released him from his fine and imprisonment. 'The severe punishment of this unfortunate gentleman, says *Rushworth*, many people pitied, he being a person well known both for learning and other abilities; only his untampered zeal (as his countrymen then gave out) prompted him to that mistake, for which the necessity of affairs at that time required this severity from the hand of the magistrate, more than perhaps the crime would do in a following juncture (z).' No such crimes <sup>(z) *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 58.</sup> as *Leighton's*, I hope, will ever, in any following juncture, be thus punished in any part of the *British* dominions. I have this appeal to the parliament now before me, by the favour of a very learned gentleman of the long robe (a), and have read by far the greatest part of it; <sup>(a) *Nicholas Muncieley, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq;*</sup> and cannot, for my life, see any thing in it deserving of so heavy a censure. The book is written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually shewed in their productions. He treats the bishops without ceremony; speaks of them, even in his title-page, as intruders upon the privileges of *Christ*, of the king, and of the commonweal, and declares the land shall never prosper by correspondencies with them. Speaking of the bishops, he says, 'their lording over the land hath robbed the nobilitie of honor, blessing to their state, of their families, yea and of their soules; and that not only by giving evil example, but also by keeping out the power of the means, by which they should have been moulded, and the true discipline of *Christ*, by which they should have been kept in compass: give them therefore an alarm; make them see their miserie, and the bishops to be the cause of it. — Proclaim to all sorts of people, from the Word, the impietie and iniquitie of the prelates places and practices; discover to the prelates their dangerous condition, will them to come out of *Babel*, and to cast off their antichristian pomp. Shew them and the people

horror by those who have any compassion;  
and

(b) Syon's  
plea against  
prelacy, p.  
274, 4to.  
printed the  
year and  
month  
wherein  
Rochelle  
was lost.

‘ the fearful sin of pestering God's worship, and over-  
‘ laying people's consciences, with the inventions of  
‘ men, yea with the trumperie of Antichrist (b).’ I will  
transcribe no more from this book, that I may not be  
tiresome to the reader; who, though he may condemn  
the sharpness of the expressions (as well as his styling the  
queen a *Canaanite* and idolatress, which Mr. *Whitlock*  
attributes to him), will, I doubt not, think that the men  
who were capable of getting such a punishment inflicted  
on the writer, were far enough from deserving gentle  
usage from the world.

(c) See Ol-  
dys's British  
Librarian,  
p. 11, 8vo.  
Lond. 1738.

But to go on. In the year 1632, *William Prynne*,  
well known to the world by his very voluminous, and  
some very useful writings (c), especially in the law, pub-  
lished his *Histrion-Mastix*, for which ‘ he was fined five  
‘ thousand pound to the king, expelled the university of  
‘ Oxford, and *Lincoln's-Inn*; degraded and disabled from  
‘ his profession in the law; to stand in the pillory, first  
‘ in the Palace-yard in *Westminster*, and three days after  
‘ in *Cheapside*, in each place to lose an ear, to have his  
‘ book publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the

(d) Heylin's  
life of Laud,  
p. 265.

‘ hangman, and remain prisoner during life (d).’ *Hey-*  
*lin* says, that part of the punishment, which affected his  
ears, was much moderated in the execution: but Mr.  
*Garrard*, in a letter to the lord deputy *Wentworth*, dated  
*London, June 3, 1634*, tells him, ‘ no mercy shewed to  
‘ *Prynne*: he stood in the pillory, and lost his first ear in  
‘ pillory in the palace at *Westminster* in full term; his  
‘ other in *Cheapside*, where while he stood, his volumes  
‘ were burnt under his nose, which had almost suffo-

(e) Straff-  
orde's let-  
ters, vol. i.  
p. 261.

‘ cated him (e).’ The same gentleman, in another let-  
ter, informs his lordship, ‘ that Mr. *Prynne* had got his  
‘ ears sowed on, and that they grew again as before to  
‘ his head.’ I have turned to some places in this book  
of Mr. *Prynne's*, which is a thick quarto, containing  
1006 pages; and cannot but admire at the weakness, as  
well as wickedness, of those who treated him in so vile  
a manner on account of it. Had they let the man  
alone,

and stand as eternal monuments of the cruelty

alone, few people would have read his book, which is a very tedious dull performance, though it abounds with learning, and has some curious citations; but to use him in so barbarous a manner for high and keen invectives against vice, or what he took to be such, was a barbarity unheard of.—Might not a man, without offence, speak against a sin, though the prince is known to be guilty of it? If not, what must our preachers do, when the sovereign happens to be at some distance from a saint? *Prynne* deemed acting of popular or private interludes, for gain or pleasure, infamous and unlawful, and that as well in princes and nobles as common actors: he declared players to have been infamous amongst christians and pagans, rogues by statute, and subject to the whipping-post; that women-actors, among the *Greeks* and *Romans* (for so he expressly speaks, and no otherwise) were all notorious, impudent, prostituted strumpets (f). (f) *Historio-Mastix*, p. 214, Lond. 1633.

This was the passage that gave the handle for *Prynne's* punishment, as appears from the following account of *Mr. Whitlock's*. 'About this time, says he, *Mr. Prynne* published his book called *Histrio-Mastix*, by licence of archbishop *Abbot's* chaplain, which being against plays, and a reference in the table of the book to this effect, "Women-actors notorious whores;" relating to some women-actors mentioned in his book, as he affirmeth: it happened that, about six weeks after this, the queen acted a part in a pastoral at *Somerset-house*; and then the archbishop *Laud*, and other prelates, whom *Prynne* had angered by some books of his against Arminianism, and against the jurisdiction of the bishops, and by some prohibitions which he had moved, and got to the high commission court. These prelates and their instruments, the next day after the queen had acted her pastoral, shewed *Prynne's* book against plays to the king, and that place of it, "Women-actors notorious whores;" and they informed the king and queen, that *Prynne* had purposely written this book against the queen and her pastoral, whereas it was published six weeks

cruelty of the government, and the influence  
of

‘ weeks before that pastoral was acted. Yet the king  
‘ and queen, tho’ thus exasperated, direct nothing against  
‘ him, till *Laud* set Dr. *Heylin* (who bare a great malice  
‘ to *Prynne*, for confuting some of his doctrines) to per-  
‘ use *Prynne*’s books, and to collect the scandalous points  
‘ out of them, which *Heylin* did.—The archbishop went  
‘ with these notes to Mr. attorney *Noy*, on a Sabbath-day  
‘ morning, and charged him to prosecute *Prynne* for this  
‘ book, which *Noy* afterwards did rigorously enough in  
(g) Whit- ‘ the Star-chamber (g).’ ’Tis not at all improbable  
lock, p. 18. that the ecclesiastics had an old grudge against *Prynne*,  
who in this book provoked them afresh, by asserting,  
that bishops ought to invite the poor to their tables, and  
to have some part of the scripture read at meals, and  
then to discourse of it; that they ought to preach con-  
stantly once a day; that ministers ought not to meddle  
with secular affairs, nor to bear secular offices; that they  
should be resident on their cures, and preach twice a day.  
This, had there been nothing else, was enough to enrage  
these kind of men, who loved power and ease far more  
than labouring in the vineyard, at such an unconscionable  
rate as this author would have had them.

In the year 1636, *Bastwick*, a doctor of physick, having  
printed a pamphlet called *Flagellum Episcoporum Latia-*  
*lium*, thought to reflect on the bishops, and also a Litany  
in pursuit of the same design, was brought into the Star-  
chamber: as were *Henry Burton*, for two sermons pub-  
lished by him full of railing against their lordships; and  
*William Prynne*, just mentioned, for pelting *Laud*, who  
had so ill used him, in a pamphlet or two, with other  
prelates of the same persecuting stamp. These jointly  
drew up an answer; but could get no counsel to sign it,  
through fear of the court; and though they petitioned  
for liberty, in their counsel’s default, to put in their an-  
swers under their own hands, yet they were refused (as  
they also were denied the liberty of exhibiting a cross bill  
against *Laud* and his adherents), and they taken *pro con-*  
*fessis*; ‘ their obstinacy in not answering in due form of  
‘ law,



of the priests. It is fit all should be acquainted

‘ law, says *Heylin*, being generally looked on by the  
 ‘ court as a self-conviction. Whereupon they received  
 ‘ sentence to this effect.—*Prynne* to be fined to the king  
 ‘ 5000 *l.* to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory,  
 ‘ to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. for  
 ‘ a schismatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned  
 ‘ in *Carnarvan-castle*. *Bastwick* and *Burton* to be con-  
 ‘ demned in the like fine of 5000 *l.* to be pilloried, and  
 ‘ lose their ears: the first to be imprisoned in the castle  
 ‘ of *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, and the second in the castle  
 ‘ of *Lancaster*. This sentence was accordingly exe-  
 ‘ cuted, to the great discontent of many moderate and  
 ‘ well-meaning men, and the prisoners were conveyed  
 ‘ to their several places of confinement; from whence  
 ‘ afterwards they were removed, out of the way of their  
 ‘ friends, to the islands of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, and *Scilly* (b).’  
 When this sentence was pronounced, *Laud* gave thanks  
 to the lords, ‘ for their just and honourable censure upon  
 ‘ these men, and for their unanimous dislike of them and  
 ‘ defence of the church (i).’

(b) *Heylin's*  
 life of  
*Laud*, p.  
 334.

(i) *Rush-*  
*worth*, vol.  
 ii. p. 384.

*Mr. Hume*, speaking of these sentences, observes, that  
 the severity of the Star-chamber was, perhaps, in itself  
 somewhat blameable; but will naturally, to us, appear  
 enormous, who enjoy to the full that liberty of the press,  
 which is so necessary in every monarchy, confined by  
 legal limitations. But as these limitations were not  
 legally fixed during the age of *Charles*, nor at any time  
 before, so was the freedom of speech totally unknown,  
 and was generally esteemed, as well as religious tolera-  
 tion, incompatible with all good government. No age  
 nor nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example  
 of such indulgencies: and it seems unreasonable to judge  
 of the measures embraced during one period, by the  
 maxims which prevail in another (k). But 'tis to be  
 hoped the measures of this as well as every other reign,  
 are to be judged by the maxims of equity: if they are  
 inconsistent with these, they deserve condemnation, tho'  
 of ever so long a practice; otherwise those of *Muley*

(k) *Hume*,  
 p. 213.

quainted with these matters, in order the  
better

*Ishmael* may escape censure. Mr. *Hume* had forgot, when he writ the above, that he himself had told us before, 'that a toleration was continued to the Huguenots; the only avowed and open toleration, which at that time was granted in any *European* kingdom (1).'

(1) *Hume*,  
p. 187.

I will add some particulars concerning these unhappy men, from *Strafforde's* letters and dispatches, which will serve as a supplement to our common historians. Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter to the lord deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London*, *March* 23, 1636, writes, 'One Dr. *Bastwick*, a physician (who writes an excellent *Latin* stile, formerly censured in the high commission), *Burton* and *Prynne*, for their libellous books lately printed, are called into the Star-chamber. *Burton's* parishioners in *London* sent a petition to the king, underwritten by sixty with their names, to intreat for his pardon and liberty: two of them brought it, who were committed for their pains (m).'

(m) *Strafforde*, vol. ii.  
p. 57.

The same gentleman, in another letter, has the following paragraphs. 'One *St. John of Lincoln's-Inn*, upon some information to the lords, that he should have some hand in drawing *Burton's* answer, so lawyer-like it is done, had his study searched, and all his papers seized on by sir *William Becher*, and carried away; which made much noise in the town, because he was of council with my lord *Say*, about that great argument of the writ of gathering the ship-money, which is hereafter to be handled. But sir *William Becher* fairly suffered him to seal up those papers, which were sent him within two days after,

(n) *Id.* p.  
85.

having found no ground for that information (n).—— Some few days after the end of the term, in the palace-yard, two pillories were erected, and there the sentence of Star-chamber against *Burton*, *Bastwick*, and *Prynne*, was executed. They stood two hours in the pillory; *Burton* by himself, being degraded in the high commission court three days before: the place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when *Burton* was cropt. Dr. *Bastwick* was very

better to form a judgment of times which have

‘ merry ; his wife, Dr. *Poe*’s daughter, got a stool, kissed him : his ears being cut off, she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. *Bastwick* told the people, the lords had collar-days at court ; but this was his collar-day, rejoicing much at it.’ The liberty given to the prisoners to speak in the pillory was highly displeasing to *Laud*, who thus writes to *Wentworth*, in a letter dated *Croydon*, Aug. 28, 1637.—‘ What say you to it, that *Prynne* and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city ; and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else (o)?’ In the same letter afterwards this prelate writes : ‘ Once again you return to *Prynne* and his fellows, and observe most rightly, that these men do but begin with the church, that they might after have the freer access to the state ; and I would to God, other men were of your lordship’s opinion ; or if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal too for timely prevention ; but for that we are all too secure, and will not believe there’s any foul weather towards us, till the storm break upon us. For in what sort these men were suffered in the pillory, and how they were attended out of the city, I have already written ; and since I hear *Prynne* was very much welcomed, both at *Coventry* and *West-Chester*, as he passed towards *Carnarvon*.’ Nature seemed to have designed *Laud* for the office of an inquisitor. He was fierce and unrelenting in disposition, void of mercy and compassion, and grudged those whom his rage had reduced to very great extremities, even the pity and assistance of standers-by. What worse character can exist ? Who can be more justly odious to every good man, than a vain mortal armed with power, and using it to wreak his

(o) Straf-  
forde, vol.  
ii. p. 99.

have been and are so much celebrated. If to

his vengeance on his foes? Ought not the memory of such wretches to be treated with a proper indignation?—*Laud*, in the above letter, speaks of the attendants the prisoners had going out of the city: *Mr. Garrard* will explain this more fully.—‘*Mr. Ingram*, sub-warden of the Fleet, told the king, that there was not less than one hundred thousand people gathered together to see *Burton* pass by, betwixt *Smithfield* and *Brown’s-well*, which is two miles beyond *Highgate*: his wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along.—Complaint hath been made to the lords of the council of a sheriff of *West-Chester*, who when *Prynne* passed that way through *Chester* to *Carnarvon-castle*, he with others met him, brought him into town, feasted and defrayed him: besides, this sheriff gave him a suit of coarse hangings to furnish his chamber at *Carnarvon-castle*: other presents were offered him, money and other things; but he refused them. This sheriff is sent up for by a pursuivant (p).’ In short, all that affronted *Laud* suffered; nor were there any that transgressed against him left unpunished. One *Boyer*, who abused him to the face, and accused him of no less than high treason, was brought into the Star-chamber, and censured; nor could he permit even a crack-brained lady to prophecy against him, without giving her the discipline of the high commission court (q). ’Twould be endless to reckon up the severities inflicted in this reign on those who opposed the governing ecclesiastics. Persecution in every shape, but that of death, appeared, and continually increased. Men’s fears were alarmed, their pity excited, and they knew not well what to do. Their persecutors they looked on with horror, and could hardly view them under the character of Christians.—Nor were their thoughts of them, perhaps, too hard. It being observed by a very ingenious writer, that ’tis not the believers of religion, but infidels and atheists, who, in every country, have always been the severest persecutors, and cruellest oppressors of all civil

as

(p) *Strafforde’s letters*, vol. ii. p. 114.

(q) See *Heylin*, p. 266.

to what has been said, we add a brief account of the restraints on the press, and the sufferings of such as attempted to break through them (yy), we shall enable the reader

‘ as well as religious liberty. For as this life is their  
 ‘ all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more  
 ‘ severe in suppressing every innovation in practice or  
 ‘ opinion, which might tend possibly to disturb their  
 ‘ repose: this is the constant observation of all who are  
 ‘ versed in history, especially in that of the *Jews*, where  
 ‘ the Pharisees, however strict in the observance of their  
 ‘ religion, were always mild and gentle in the seat of  
 ‘ judgment; whereas the Sadducees, though little con-  
 ‘ cerned for religion, were most implacable and rigorous  
 ‘ animadvertisers on every slight transgression of the  
 ‘ law (r).’—’Tis remarkable that *Laud*, even when in (r) Middle-  
 the Tower, expressed no remorse for his treatment of ton’s mis-  
 these men, who then were brought home, and used with cellaneous  
 great respect by the people. ‘ I shall crave leave, says tracts, p.  
 ‘ he, to say of these men, as St. *Augustine* once said of 170, 4to.  
 ‘ two great donatists in his time, who (it seems) had re- Lond. 1752.  
 ‘ ceived some sentence, and afterwards a return, not al-  
 ‘ together unlike these men [they were *Felicianus* and  
 ‘ *Pretextatus*]. Of those, thus St. *Augustine*: If these  
 ‘ men were innocent, why were they so condemned?  
 ‘ And if they were guilty, why were they with such  
 ‘ honour returned and received? This applies itself (s).’ (s) *Laud’s*  
 I shall only observe, that the severity made use of to up- troubles, p.  
 hold the church, as it was at this time pretended, was 255.  
 one very great reason of its after-fall. For persecution,  
 unless it be extreme and constant, has always been hurt-  
 ful to those who used it.

(yy) *I will add a brief account of the restraints on the press, and the sufferings of such as attempted to break thro’ them.*] The liberty of the press is most invaluable: it protects all other liberties, dispels ignorance and superstition, priestcraft and tyranny, and causes truth of all kinds to be known, beloved, and embraced. Wise and good

reader fully to comprehend the measures  
made

good men, for the most part, have been for the liberty of the press; as well knowing, that to it we are indebted for the improvements in philosophy and polite learning; for freedom of thought, and of enquiry, in religious matters; and that knowledge which happily is become common among those who are acquainted with its productions. Wicked ministers, and tyrannical ecclesiastics, dread it, as fearing it will operate to their destruction; but such as have honest views, and benevolent purposes, encourage it, and oppose every restraint of it. It is many times abused, without doubt; (and which of heaven's bounties is not?) but the good effects of it are so numerous, that that man deserves ill of his country who lends his hand in the least to overthrow it, and his memory will deservedly be branded with infamy. However, this blessing was wanting under *Charles's* government, as it had been under that of his predecessors. For licences were to be had of some bishop or other, or the chancellors of the universities; and such books as were printed without these were liable to be seized, though the matter contained in them was most unexceptionable. But this alone would not answer the views of *Charles's* government; and therefore a decree was made in the Star-chamber, in *July* 1637, which, as it will afford the best idea of the rigour of these times, I will give an account of. It was to this effect: ' That none shall presume to  
' print any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same  
' be first licensed, with all the titles, epistles, and pre-  
' faces therewith imprinted, by the lord archbishop of  
' *Canterbury*, or the bishop of *London*, for the time being,  
' or by their appointment; and within the limits of  
' either university, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor  
' thereof, upon pain that every printer, so offending,  
' shall for ever thereafter be disabled to exercise the art  
' of printing, and shall suffer such further punishment as  
' by this court, or the high commission, shall be thought  
' fitting; that before any books imported from foreign  
' parts shall be exposed to sale, a true catalogue thereof  
' shall

made use of at this time, in order to subdue  
the

shall be presented to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the bishop of *London*: and that no officer of the customs shall deliver any foreign books out of their hands and custody, before those bishops shall have appointed one of their chaplains, or some other learned man, with the master and wardens of the company of stationers, or one of them, to be present at the opening of the pack and fardels, and to view the same. And those that disobey this injunction, are to be censured in this or the high commission court, as the several causes shall require. And if in this search there happen to be found any schismatical or offensive books, they shall be brought to the aforesaid bishops, or the high commission office, that the offenders may be punished. That no person whatsoever shall imprint in the parts beyond the seas, or import from thence, any *English* books, or whereof the greater part is *English*, whether formerly printed or not; and that no books whatsoever shall be reprinted, though formerly licensed. without a new licence first obtained, upon pain of like censure and punishment. And that if any person whatsoever, that is not an allowed printer, shall presume to set up a press for printing, or work at any such press, or set and compose letters for the same, he shall be set in the pillory, and whipt through the city of *London* (t).’ A (t) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 463.  
decree this, little less severe than those of the *Romish* inquisitors! But those who made it. took care to execute it in its full rigour. They refused to license many books written against Popery and Arminianism; nor would they grant a new licence for reprinting *Fox’s* book of Martyrs, *Bishop Jewel’s* works, and some part of *Dr. Willet’s* (u), (u) *Canterbury’s* doome, p. 184. See a passage of *sir Edward Dering’s*, in the note (oo).  
with many others. But this was not the worst of it. *John Warton* and *John Lilburne* (who made a figure afterwards by opposing even *Cromwell* himself) were brought into the Star-chamber, and ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, touching their printing contrary to the abovementioned decree; and they refusing to take an oath to answer to interrogatories, were

the consciences of men to the dominion of  
the

‘ were sentenced to go back to the Fleet, and there remain till they complied with the orders of the court; to pay 500*l.* each to his majesty, and be bound with sureties for their good behaviour. And to the end, that others may be the more deterred from daring to offend in the like kind hereafter, the court further ordered and decreed, that the said *John Lilburne* should be whipt through the streets, from the prison of the Fleet to the pillory [placed between *Westminster-hall-gate* and the *Star-chamber*]; and that he and *Warton* should be both of them set in the said pillory, and from thence be returned to the Fleet, there to remain according to the said decree (w).’

(w) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 466.

‘ This sentence was executed with the utmost rigour on *Lilburne*, who was smartly whipt from the Fleet to *Westminster*.’ But *Lilburne* had an unconquerable spirit.—‘ Whilst he was whipt at the cart, and stood in the pillory, he uttered many bold speeches against the tyranny of bishops, &c. and when his head was in the hole of the pillory, he scattered sundry copies of pamphlets (said to be seditious), and tossed them among the people, taking them out of his pocket; whereupon the court of *Star-chamber* (then sitting), being informed, immediately ordered *Lilburne* to be gagged during the residue of the time he was to stand in the pillory, which was done accordingly; and when he could not speak, he stamped with his feet, thereby intimating to the beholders, he would still speak, were his mouth at liberty.’ This bold behaviour only provoked the mercileſs court the more: for it immediately decreed, ‘ That *Lilburne* should be laid alone with irons on his hands and legs in the wards of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put.’ This *Mr. Hume*, with his usual exactness, says, was in consequence of his being ‘ brought to his tryal anew (x).’

(x) History of Great Britain, p. 216.

It was moreover ordered, ‘ That hereafter all persons that shall be produced to receive corporal punishment, accord-



the priesthood: a thing always attended with the most unhappy consequences.

If

‘ according to sentence of that court, shall have their garments searched before they be brought forth, and neither writing nor other thing suffered to be about them, and their hands likewise to be bound during the time they are under punishment (z).’

(z) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 467.

*Lilburne* underwent this likewise, though of a genteel family, and a man far above the vulgar in point of understanding. What shall we think of such government as this! These punishments were fitter for *Russian* boors, used from their infancy to the whip, than for *Englishmen* who had been trained up under mild laws, and a gentle government. Thank God, the times are altered, or we never had had so many admirable discourses on religion and liberty!

*Milton*, in his most excellent speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, speaking of the popish Imprimaturs, observes, that ‘ sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piazza of one title-page, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These, continues he, are the pretty responseries; these are the dear antiphonies, that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains with the goodly eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from *Lambeth-house*, another from the west-end of *St. Paul’s*; so apishly romanizing, that the word of command was still set down in *Latin*, as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without *Latin*; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an Imprimatur: but rather, as I hope, for that our *English*, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption (a) englisht (a).’

(a) Milton’s prose works, vol. i. p.

If we now turn our eyes to the administration of civil affairs, we shall find it far enough from being commendable. *Charles* entertained very high notions of the regal power (22). He thought himself  
account-

I will conclude this note with the words of a gentleman, now in a high station. 'It will not be denied, that our ecclesiastical affairs were under a meer clerical administration from the year 1628 to the meeting of the long parliament. A period remarkably infamous for a series of weak, angry, ill-concerted measures: measures calculated to beget in weak minds a veneration towards the hierarchy; but executed with a pe-dantick severity, which produced a quite contrary effect. Certain enthusiastick conceits concerning the external beauties of religion, and the necessity of a general uniformity in the business of holy garments, holy seasons, significant gestures, church utensils and ornaments, seem to have been the ruling principles of those times. These filled the goals with church-criminals, and sent thousands of our most useful hands to seek their bread in foreign parts. Through the influence these principles had on our spiritual governors, multitudes of learned and conscientious preachers were silenced, and exposed at once to the two greatest trials which can befall human nature, publick infamy, and remediless want. These principles alone, and a conduct on our part suited to them, broke our union with the reformed churches abroad, and fomented a war in Scotland: which, together with a general alienation of affections at home, occasioned in great measure by a rigorous exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, prepared things for that scene of misery, which ended in the ruin of our constitution. These were the effects of an administration purely sacerdotal, in matters commonly called spiritual (b).'

(b) Examination of the Codex, p. 72, 2d edit. Lond. 1735, 8vo.

(22) *Charles entertained very high notions of the regal power.* Here are my proofs. 'While Harrington  
(author

accountable only unto God, and that his sub-

‘ (author of the celebrated *Oceana*) waited on his majesty at *Holdenby*, says *Wood*, his majesty loved his company, and did chuse rather (finding him to be an ingenious man) to discourse with him, than with others of the chamber. They had often discourses concerning government; but when they happened to talk of a commonwealth, the king seemed not to endure it (c),’ (c) *Wood’s Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 588.  
 ‘ And against the levellers and anti-monarchists, he wrote in one of his books these lines from the poet :

‘ *Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit*

‘ *Servitium, Nunquam libertas gratior extat*

‘ *Quam sub rege pio.*—(d)’

But to give an authority most unquestionable, his majesty publicly avowed, in a speech to the lords and commons, ‘ That he owed an account of his actions to none but God alone (e).’—And in one of his papers to *Henderson*, he says, ‘ I hold it absolutely unlawful for subjects (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make war (though defensive) against their lawful sovereign (f).’ (d) *Dugdale’s short view*, p. 383. (e) *King Charles’s works*, p. 164. (f) *Id.* p. 87.

And on his tryal he affirmed, ‘ That a king cannot be tried by any superiour jurisdiction on earth (g).’ And (g) *Id.* p. 194.  
 again: ‘ I do not know how a king can be a delinquent.’ And afterwards he asserts, ‘ That the authority of obedience to kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded, both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, continued he, I am ready instantly to prove. And for the question now in hand, there it is said, that where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What do’st thou? *Ecc.* viii. 4. Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident, that no learned lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lye against the king, they all going in his name; and one of their maxims is, That the king can do no wrong (h).’ These were (h) *Id.* p. 196.

the sentiments of *Charles*, which he learned at the feet of *Gamaliel*, as he stiles his father (i), ‘ who if his ghost,’ (i) *Id.* p. 159.

says he to *Henderson*, ‘ should now speak, he would tell you, that a bloody reformation was never lawful, as

‘ not

subjects, by the divine law, ought not to resist

(k) King Charles's works, p. 80.

‘not warranted by God’s word, and that *preces & lacrymæ sunt arma ecclesiæ* (k).’ So that lord *Bolingbroke* was probably right in saying, ‘This prince had sucked in with his milk those absurd principles of government, which his father was so industrious, and, unhappily for king and people, so successful in propagating. He found them espoused, as true principles both of religion and policy, by a whole party in the nation, whom he esteemed friends to the constitution in church and state. He found them opposed by a party, whom he looked on indiscriminately as enemies to the church and to monarchy. Can we wonder that he grew zealous in a cause, which he understood to concern him so nearly, and in which he saw so many men, who had not the same interest, and might therefore be supposed to act on a principle of conscience, equally zealous? Let any one, who hath been deeply and long engaged in the contests of party, ask himself, on cool reflection, whether prejudices, concerning men and things, have not grown up and strengthened with him, and obtained an uncontrollable influence over his conduct? We dare appeal to the inward sentiments of every such person. —With this habitual bias upon him, king *Charles* came to the throne; and to compleat the misfortune, he had given all his confidence to a madman (l).’ This seems the best apology for *Charles* on this head: Mr. *Hume*’s is of a like nature (m). ‘However,’ as *Gordon* well observes, ‘it is a poor and contemptible ambition in a prince, that of swelling his prerogative, and catching at advantages over his people: it is separating himself from the tender relation of a father and protector, a character which constitutes the glory of a king; and assuming that of a foe and an enemy. This is what a prince of a great and benevolent spirit will consider; not himself as a lordly tyrant, nor them as his property and slaves; but himself and them, under the amiable and engaging ties of magistrate and fellow-citizens. Such was the difference between a queen  
‘*Eliza-*

(l) Craftsmen, vol. vii. p. 391.

(m) *Hume*’s political discourses, p. 266, 8vo. in the note, Edinburgh, 1752. See also his history of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 118, in the note.

resist his will. In consequence hereof,  
he

‘ Elizabeth and Richard the second: how glorious and  
‘ prosperous the reign of the one, how infamous and  
‘ unhappy that of the other! What renown accompa-  
‘ nies her memory, what scorn his! It is indeed appa-  
‘ rent from our history, that those of our princes who  
‘ thirsted most violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly  
‘ such as were remarkable for poor spirit and small ge-  
‘ nius, pedants, bigots, the timorous and effeminate (n).’

It were to be wished all princes had the following lines, which beautifully set forth the duty and office of a king, engraved on the tables of their hearts. They are put into the mouth of Jesus, and are worthy of his benevolent mind.

What if with like aversion I reject  
Riches and realms; yet not for that a crown  
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,  
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights  
To him who wears the regal diadem,  
When on his shoulders each man’s burden lies;  
For therein stands the office of a king,  
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,  
That for the public all this weight he bears.  
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules  
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;  
Which every wise and virtuous man attains:  
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule  
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,  
Subject himself to anarchy within,  
Or lawless passions in him which he serves.  
But to guide nations in the way of truth  
By saving doctrine, and from error lead  
To know, and knowing worship God aright,  
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,  
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;  
That other o’er the body only reigns,  
And oft by force, which to a generous mind  
So reigning can be no sincere delight.

Milton.

he thought contemptuously of parliaments (AAA), treated many of the members of it with

(AAA) *He thought contemptuously of parliaments, &c.]*

In his speech to the lords and commons at *Whitehall*, March 29, 1626, we have the following paragraph.

‘ Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power  
 ‘ for their calling, sitting, and dissolution ; therefore as  
 ‘ I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be. And remember that if in this  
 ‘ time, instead of mending your errors, by delay you  
 ‘ persist in your errors, you make them greater and irreconcilable : whereas, on the other side, if you go on  
 ‘ cheerfully to mend them, and look to the distressed  
 ‘ state of Christendom, and the affairs of the kingdom,  
 ‘ as it lyeth now by this great engagement, you will do  
 ‘ yourselves honor, you shall encourage me to go on  
 ‘ with parliaments, and I hope all Christendom shall feel  
 ‘ the good of it (o).’—*Charles* seemed to have forgot  
 that there were statutes then in being for annual parliaments. But if there had not, ‘ the power of assembling  
 ‘ and dismissing the legislative, placed in the executive,  
 ‘ gives not the executive a superiority over it ; but is a  
 ‘ fiduciary trust reposed in him, for the safety of the  
 ‘ people, in a case where the uncertainty and variability  
 ‘ of human affairs could not bear a steady fixed rule.  
 ‘ For it not being possible, that the first framers of the  
 ‘ government should, by any foresight, be so much masters  
 ‘ of future events, as to be able to prefix so just periods  
 ‘ of return and duration to the assemblies of the  
 ‘ legislative, in all times to come, that might exactly  
 ‘ answer all the exigencies of the commonwealth ; the  
 ‘ best remedy could be found for this defect, was to trust  
 ‘ this to the prudence of one who was always to be present,  
 ‘ and whose business it was to watch over the public good.  
 ‘ Constant frequent meetings of the legislative,  
 ‘ and long continuations of their assemblies, without  
 ‘ necessary occasion, could not but be burthensome  
 ‘ to the people, and must necessarily in time produce  
 ‘ more dangerous inconveniences, and yet the quick  
 ‘ turn

(o) King Charles's works, p. 161.

with reproachful words, even publicly and  
in

turn of affairs might be sometimes such as to need their present help : any delay of their convening might endanger the public ; and sometimes too their business might be so great, that the limited time of their sitting might be too short for their work, and rob the public of that benefit which could be had only from their mature deliberations. What then could be done, in this case, to prevent the community from being exposed sometime or other to eminent hazard, on one side or the other, by fixed intervals and periods, set to the meeting and acting of the legislative, but to intrust it to the prudence of some, who, being present, and acquainted with the state of public affairs, might make use of this prerogative for the public good ? And where else could this be so well placed as in his hands, who was intrusted with the execution of the laws for the same end ? Thus supposing the regulation of times for the assembling and sitting of the legislative, not settled by the original constitution, it naturally fell into the hands of the executive, not as an arbitrary power depending on his good pleasure ; but with this trust, always to have it exercised only for the public weal, as the occurrences of times and change of affairs might require (p). This reasoning is worthy of the Englishman and philosopher.

(p) Locke  
on govern-  
ment, p.  
247, 8vo.  
Lond. 1728.

I now return to the subject. His majesty, in a speech to the speaker of the house of commons of his second parliament, 1625-6, tells him, ' I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you ; much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me (q). ' And in a speech to the lords and commons, at his opening of his third parliament, *March 7, 1627-8*, he, among other things, thus declared his sentiments.—' In this time of common danger I have taken the most antient, speedy, and best way for supply, by calling you together, If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, you do not your duties, it

(q) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
161.

*The LIFE of CHARLES I.*  
in the face of the world; violated their  
known

(r) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
162.

' shall suffice I have done mine : in the conscience where-  
' of I shall rest content, and take some other course, for  
' which God hath empowered me, to save that which  
' the folly of particular men might hazard to lose. Take  
' not this as a menace (for I scorn to threaten any but  
' my equals), but as an admonition from him who is  
' tied, both by nature and duty, to provide for your pre-  
' servations (r). '—When *Buckingham* was fallen upon  
by the commons, and many members had spoken sharply  
against him, the king went to the house of lords, and told  
them, ' The cause, the only cause of his coming thither,  
' was to express the sense he had of all their honors; for  
' he that toucheth any of you, said he, toucheth me in a  
' very great measure. I have thought fit to take order  
' for the punishing some insolent speeches lately spoken :  
' I have been too remiss heretofore in punishing such  
' speeches as concern myself. Not that I was greedy of  
' their monies, but that *Buckingham*, through his impor-  
' tunity, would not suffer me to take notice of them,  
' lest he might be thought to have set me on, and that  
' he might come the forwarder to his trial (s). '

(s) Id. p.  
161.

I will add but one passage more from his speech to the  
house of lords, at the dissolving of his third parliament,  
*March 10, 1628-9*. Taking notice of the house of com-  
mons, he says, ' Some few vipers among them cast this  
' mist of unprofitableness over most of their eyes; '—and  
then tells them in like words, ' These vipers must look  
' for their reward of punishment (t). ' He was as good  
as his word; for those who opposed him in parliament,  
or such as he feared would not comply with him there,  
felt heavy marks of his displeasure. ' *Sir Dudley Diggs*,  
' and *sir John Elliott*, were committed to the Tower for  
' words spoken in the house against *Buckingham* (u). ' And the commons having ' voted the seizing Mr. *Rel-  
lis's* goods (a member of the house) to be a breach of  
' privilege, a hot debate was upon it : the speaker being  
' called upon to put the question proposed, said he durst  
' not; for the king had commanded the contrary. The  
' house

(t) Id. p.  
166.

(u) Whit-  
lock.



known and fundamental privileges; imprisoned

‘ house in some disturbance adjourn to a day; and then  
 ‘ being met again, they with the speaker to put the  
 ‘ former question; but he refused, and said he had a  
 ‘ command to adjourn the house (*w*).’—Upon the dis- (*w*) Whit-  
 solution of the parliament, ‘ warrants of the council lock, p. 12.  
 ‘ issued for *Hollis*, *Selden*, *Hobart*, *Elliott*, and other par-  
 ‘ liament-men [nine in number], to appear before them :  
 ‘ *Hollis*, *Curriton*, *Elliott*, and *Valentine* appeared; and  
 ‘ refusing to answer out of parliament for what was said  
 ‘ and done in parliament, they were committed close  
 ‘ prisoners to the Tower; and a proclamation for ap-  
 ‘ prehending others went out, and some of their studies  
 ‘ sealed up (*x*). Informations were exhibited by the (*x*) Id. p.  
 ‘ attorney-general against these gentlemen in the Star- 13.  
 ‘ chamber, and in the King’s Bench; in the latter of  
 ‘ which judgment was given against them, That they  
 ‘ should be imprisoned, and not delivered till they had  
 ‘ given security for their good behaviour, and make a  
 ‘ submission and acknowledgment of their offences: and  
 ‘ they were also fined (*y*).’ *Elliott* was fined 2000 *l.* (*y*) Id. p.  
*Hollis* 1000 marks, and *Valentine* 500 *l.* (*z*). *Elliott*, re- 14.  
 fusing to give security, was detained many years in prison, (*z*) Rush-  
 where he ended his days, and was looked on as a mar- worth, vol.  
 tyr by the people. This judgment was declared after- i. p. 691;  
 wards by the parliament, in 1641, to be against law and Croke’s re-  
 privilege of parliament; and very handsome sums were ports, part  
 ordered to be paid out of the public money to the con- 3d, p. 182,  
 fessors for public liberty. But by a strain of generosity fol. Lond.  
 uncommon, Mr. *Hollis* refused the 5000 *l.* voted him, 1683.  
 and said he would not receive a penny till the public debts  
 were paid. He only received 1000 marks fine imposed  
 on him, which he had laid down in ready money, and  
 this only because his whole estate had been kept from  
 him in the west for three years. Some of the other  
 gentlemen refused to receive what was given them (*a*). (*a*) Memoirs  
 It were to be wished our modern patriots inherited a like of Denzil  
 public spirit! lord Hollis,  
 p. 140, 8vo.  
 Lond. 1699.

prisoned their persons; sealed up their studies;  
and

'Tis very remarkable, that this judgment given against *Hollis*, &c. was, by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, in Dec. 1667, also declared 'to be an illegal judgment, and against the freedom and privilege of parliament. And it was ordered by the lords, 'That *Denzil Hollis*, then lord *Hollis*, be desired to cause the roll of the court of King's Bench, wherein the said judgment is recorded, to be brought before the lords in parliament by a writ of error, to the end that such further judgment may be given upon the said case, as this house shall find meet: which being by him accordingly done, the judgment was reversed (b).—Nor were the privileges of the commons alone violated by this prince. Such of the house of peers as were displeasing to him, or his favourite, suffered very great oppressions. *Williams*, bishop of *Lincoln*, was not summoned to parliament till he had complained thereof to the king, who then granted it; but for fear of displeasing, he appointed a proxy. And in the next parliament the lord keeper *Coventry*, by order, writ to him to dissuade him from appearing at it, with which he thought not proper then to comply (c), though if he had, he might possibly have escaped some of his after-troubles from the court. 'The earl of *Bristol's* writ was stopped, after he had been confined to his house two years; who thereupon petitioned the lords for his right of peerage, to have a writ to attend the house, and that he might be brought to his tryal in parliament. Whereupon the lords prayed the king, that *Bristol*, and other lords, whose writs were stopped, might have their writs; and they had them: but *Bristol*, by petition to the lords, acquainted them, that he had received his writ to attend the parliament; but withal a letter missive from the lord keeper, signifying his majestie's pleasure, that he should forbear coming to the parliament (d).—And the lords were discontented at the commitment of the earl of *Arundel*, about his son's marriage with the duke of *Lenox's* sister; and with breaches of their privileges; and upon the  
' release

(b) Croke's  
reports, part  
3d, p. 604.  
610,

(c) Phil-  
lips's life of  
*Williams*,  
p. 193.

(d) Whit-  
lock, p. 4.

and procured heavy fines to be laid on them by his judges. A judgment in the opinion of succeeding parliaments illegal, and against the freedom and privilege of parliament.

All these violations of the rights and privileges of the legislative body, were offered in about three years after *Charles* ascended the throne. In this period three parliaments being dissolved by him, he issued a proclamation

‘ release of sir *Dudley Diggs* and sir *John Elliott*, the  
 ‘ lords petitioned the king for the earl of *Arundel*’s re-  
 ‘ lease. The king sent a message, that he was com-  
 ‘ mitted for personal misdemeanours against the king,  
 ‘ and not for any matters of parliament. The earl of  
 ‘ *Arundel* had five proxies, which were lost by his im-  
 ‘ prisonment, and no precedent was found of any peer  
 ‘ committed, sitting the parliament, except that of the  
 ‘ bishop of *Winchester*, in *Edward* the Third’s time.  
 ‘ The house of lord’s voted (*nemine contradicente*),  
 ‘ That no lord ought to be committed, sitting the par-  
 ‘ liament, except for treason, felony, or breach of the  
 ‘ peace. And in pursuance hereof, they voted a remon-  
 ‘ strance to the king to declare their right, and to his  
 ‘ majesty to release the earl of *Arundel*. But they peti-  
 ‘ tioned and petitioned in vain, till at length the king,  
 ‘ finding them bent on the earl’s liberty, discharged  
 ‘ him (e).’—*Abbot*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, also, (e) Whit-  
 ‘ having been long slighted at court, fell under the king’s lock, p. 6.  
 ‘ high displeasure, for refusing to license *Sibthorp*’s ser-  
 ‘ mon; and not long after he was sequestred from his  
 ‘ office, and a commission was granted to five bishops,  
 ‘ one of which was *Laud*, to execute archiepiscopal ju-  
 ‘ risdiction (f).’

Some other flagrant instances of the violation of the privileges of parliament, I shall have occasion hereafter to take notice of: at present these shall suffice.

(f) Rush-  
 worth, vol.  
 i. p. 431.

(g) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
231.

mation for suppressing false rumours touching parliaments, in which he declared, 'he should count it presumption for any to prescribe any time to him for parliaments; the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which, says he, is always in our own power (g).' From this time the subject underwent a thousand oppressions (BBB).

### Loans

(BBB) *From this time the subject underwent a thousand oppressions.*] Charles, from the commencement of his reign, had been guilty of great acts of oppression, as will appear from the following passages in a most unexceptionable writer.

(b) Whitlock, p. 2. 'In the year 1625, he sent out his letters to the lord lieutenants of counties, touching a general loan of money to him (b).' And in 1626, 'the king required a loan of money, and sent to London and the port-towns to furnish ships for guard of the seas.—London being rated twenty ships, desired an abatement: the council denied it; and in answer to their precedents, said, That the precedents in former times were obedience, and not direction. A benevolence was likewise required (i).—To the imposing of loans was added the billeting of soldiers; martial law was executed, and the soldiers committed great outrages. Sir Randal Crew, chief justice, not favouring the loan, was put out of his place.—Some who refused to lend money to the king, were forced to serve in the king's ships then going forth; and refusers in the country, were some of them committed, and the meaner sort pressed to serve as soldiers.—The gentlemen here, who refused to pay the loan, were confined in other counties, and in close imprisonment, and some of them in common gaols: sir John Elliott, one of them, in a petition to the king, sets forth the illegality of the loan, or of any tax, without parliament; taking this way to inform the king what his council did not; and he al-

'ledgeth

Loans and benevolences were exacted without pre-

‘ ledgeth his conscience not to submit to it, and prays  
 ‘ his liberty; but could not obtain it. Sir *Peter Hai-*  
 ‘ *man*, another refuser, was sent upon an errand, as far  
 ‘ as the Palatinate (*k*).’ And lord *Haughton*, in a letter (*k*) Whit-  
 to sir *Thomas Wentworth*, dated *St. Bartlemews, May 19*, lock, p. 8.  
 1627, writes, ‘ Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* of *Essex* was laid  
 ‘ up last week: his neighbours of *Chelmsford*, the six  
 ‘ poor tradesmen, stand out stiffly, notwithstanding the  
 ‘ many threats and promises made them; which made  
 ‘ one say, that honour, that did use to reside in the head,  
 ‘ was now, like the gout, got into the foot (*l*).’—These (*l*) Straf-  
 proceedings were looked on as very grievous and illegal; forde’s let-  
 and therefore, in order to prevent the renewal of them, ters, vol. i.  
 the petition of right was first framed, and after much p. 38.  
 chicanery and many struggles on the king’s part, past  
 into a law. The enacting clauses in this important law  
 are these: ‘ That no man hereafter be compelled to  
 ‘ make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or  
 ‘ such like charge, without common consent by act of  
 ‘ parliament; and that none else be called to make an-  
 ‘ swer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or to  
 ‘ be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted con-  
 ‘ cerning the same, or for refusal thereof. And that no  
 ‘ freeman, in any such manner, as is before mentioned,  
 ‘ be imprisoned or detained. And that your majesty  
 ‘ will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mari-  
 ‘ ners, and that your people may not be so burthened in  
 ‘ time to come. And that all commissions for proceed-  
 ‘ ing by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and  
 ‘ that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue  
 ‘ forth to any persons whatsoever, to be executed as afore-  
 ‘ said, left, by colour of them, any of your majestie’s  
 ‘ subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the  
 ‘ laws and franchise of the land. All which, say the  
 ‘ lords and commons, they most humbly pray of your  
 ‘ most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties,  
 ‘ according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and  
 ‘ that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare,  
 ‘ That

*The* LIFE of CHARLES I.  
pretence of law, and gentlemen of distinction  
were

‘ That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the pre-  
 ‘ judice of your people in any of the premises, shall not  
 ‘ be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And  
 ‘ that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for  
 ‘ the further comfort and safety of your people, to de-  
 ‘ clare your royal will and pleasure, That in the things  
 ‘ aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you  
 ‘ according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they  
 ‘ tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity  
 ‘ of this kingdom (m).’—No law could be more clearly  
 and strongly expressed than this, none less liable to an  
 evasion. But though *Charles* gave his royal assent to it,  
 he soon broke it, to his own dishonor and his subjects  
 grief. Tunnage and poundage were taken by him with-  
 out grant by parliament, and some merchants were com-  
 mitted for not paying it. Mr. *Rollis*’s goods were seized,  
 tho’ a member of parliament, on the same account, by  
 the customers, who insolently declared, ‘ if all the par-  
 ‘ liament were concerned in the goods, they would seize  
 ‘ them.’ And being questioned by the house for taking  
 the goods of parliament-men, they with boldness an-  
 swered, ‘ That they conceived no privilege of parliament  
 ‘ was in the case.’ This distastful to the commons, the  
 king sent a message, ‘ That what the customers did was  
 ‘ by his order, and that he would not have his particular  
 ‘ interest severed from that of his servants, who acted  
 ‘ by his command (n).’ Of small force were laws in  
 the opinion of this prince we see, and little was their  
 authority valued by him, though he himself had assented  
 to them!—*Chambers*, who had denied payment of the  
 customs, as not given by parliament, was afterwards pro-  
 ceeded against in the Star-chamber, fined 2000*l.* and  
 ordered to make a submission, which, with the fortitude  
 of a *Roman*, he refused! But the officers of the customs  
 had detained 7060*l.* of his goods; he himself was im-  
 prisoned six years in the Fleet; and though by the com-  
 mons, in 1640, ordered 13680*l.* in part of reparation  
 for his sufferings in this cause, and his nine months im-  
 prisonment

(m) Stat.  
3 Car. c. i.  
sect. 10, 11.

(n) Whit-  
lock, p. 12.

were imprisoned, and otherwise ill treated,  
for

prisonment in 1637, for withstanding ship-money; yet, to their very great disgrace, he was put off from time to time; till wearied out by delays, he was reduced to a low estate and condition, and died in 1658, aged about seventy (o).'

'Mr. *Vassal* also was brought into the Exchequer, for not paying tunnage and poundage: he pleaded *Magna Charta*, and the statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*; and that this imposition was not by assent in parliament. The barons refused to hear his council, gave judgment against him, and imprisoned him (p).—After the dissolution of that parliament, wherein the abovementioned petition of right was granted, *England* was governed for twelve years without a parliament.—Tunnage and poundage were continued without any consent of parliament; the book of rates upon merchants goods were enhanced, and the collection of them enforced out of the course of ordinary courts of justice. The next design, says *Rushworth*, for money was, by proclamation, to revive an obsolete law about knight-hood; under colour whereof summons were sent throughout the kingdom, to every man possessed for three years of 40 *l. per Annum*, who did not appear before the king at his coronation to be made a knight, to submit to such fines as they could compound for; and *James Maleverer*, of *Arnclyff*, in the county of *York*, Esq; put himself upon the judgment of the court of Exchequer, what fine they should think fit to impose upon him: but the court doubting the law would not bear them out, refused that regular course of imposing a fine, and put the party submitting, to go and compound with commissioners in the country, contrary to the intent of the law. Another advice to advance the king's revenue, was, to grant patents under the great seal; by which monopolies were created, in a manner, of all sorts of commodities; as soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, cards, pins, even to the sole gathering of rags; which projects were countenanced  
' with

(o) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 679.

(p) Whitlock, p. 12.

for refusing to contribute to them. Tunnage  
and

‘ with the name of Incorporations. Another advice  
‘ was given to raise a revenue for the king, by granting  
‘ of commissions under the great seal for offenders to  
‘ compound; and the better to effect the same, some  
‘ examples were made by sentence in the high court of  
‘ Star-chamber, against several persons, to pay great fines,  
‘ as for depopulations, nufances in building between  
‘ high and low water-mark, for pretended encroach-  
‘ ments upon the forests, with other things of that na-  
‘ ture; and accordingly commissions were issued out,  
‘ and offenders in that kind did compound, which  
‘ brought in a considerable revenue (q).’ Let not the  
reader think these were small matters. For from what  
follows it appears they were great grievances, abominable  
hardships. Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter to the lord deputy  
*Wentworth*, dated *London*, Nov. 10, 1634, has the fol-  
lowing words.—‘ *Whitfield* is made a serjeant, but not  
‘ the king’s: he hath received this addition for the ser-  
‘ vice he hath done at *Dean Forest*, and for a later in  
‘ *Essex*; for they would have brought all *Essex*, from  
‘ *Stratford-Bow* to *Colchester*, to be forest. ’Tis not yet  
‘ judged; for the gentlemen of that county being un-  
‘ prepared for a defence, they have time given them  
‘ until the 20th of *February*; then the justice in eyre  
‘ will set again. If then they cannot free themselves,  
‘ they must for ever submit themselves to forest-law.

‘ One sir *Anthony Roper* of *Kent*, was fined in the Star-  
‘ chamber for depopulations four thousand pounds, to  
‘ the relator one hundred pounds, to the parson of his  
‘ parish one hundred pounds, and to the poor of the  
‘ same parish one hundred pounds: he is enjoined also  
‘ to repair those houses he hath demolished within two  
‘ years, to let his farms at reasonable rates: if he should  
‘ dye in the interim, yet is he obliged to have these  
‘ things performed, and not to come forth of prison till  
‘ he hath given security for the true performance of every  
‘ part of this censure (r).’ The same gentleman, in a  
letter to the same, dated *April 14*, 1635, tells him;  
‘ The

(q) See  
*Rushworth’s*  
preface to  
his 2d vol.

(r) *Strat-  
ford’s* let-  
ters, vol. i.  
p. 335.



and poundage were taken without any consent

‘ The justice-seat in *Essex* hath been kept this *Easter-week*, and all *Essex* is become forest; and so, they say, will all the counties of *England* but three, *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Sussex* (1).’—Great complaint was made against these proceedings of the justice in eyre in *Essex*. ‘ It was alledged by the country, that the meets, meers, limits, and bounds of forests, were adjudged by them to extend further than they were taken to be in the 20th year of king *James*, and contrary to those bounds by which the country had enjoyed them near the space of 300 years. Complaint was also made that the said court, to effect their design, did unlawfully procure undue returns to be made by jurors, in joining with them other persons who were not sworn; the court also using threatening speeches to make them give a verdict for the king. And when the country, who thought themselves hardly dealt withal, did desire to traverse the proceedings against them, having just cause against the evidence, yet the court denied the same, except what they should verbally speak; whereupon the council for the country told the justice-seat, that their proceedings were contrary to law, and to the charter of the liberties of the forests, and other charters, and divers acts of parliament. Nevertheless the court obtained a verdict for the king; at which time the justice-seat was called by adjournment to sit, and continued sitting, to maintain and confirm the verdict given against the country.—By the sentence of the court many inhabitants were fined great sums of money, or forthwith depart from their houses and estates, and retire out of the forests; for that they were found, by verdict given against them, to have encroached upon the forests (2).’ Some more of these proceedings this gentleman, in other letters, informs his lordship of. In a letter dated *Petworth*, Oct. 3, 1635, he says, ‘ My lord of *Holland*, the 3d of *October*, is commanded to *Winchester*, to finish his justice-seat for the New Forest, where more especially comes in question the manor of

‘ *Beawly*.

(1) *Stratford's letters*, vol. i. p. 413.

(2) *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1056.

sent of parliament, and such as would not submit

‘ *Beauly*. My lord of *Southampton* hath been at court about it: it much concerns him in his fortune; it yields him now from his tenants 2500 *l.* a year: if it should prove forest, it would yield but 500 *l.* yearly. So that his *French* wife, with whom he had little, and this business, would utterly ruin him in his fortune. But howsoever it go, I hope his majesty will be so merciful to him, that he will confer some special marks of his favour to make him subsist, and live like an earl and peer of *England* (u).’

(u) *Stratford's letters*, vol. i. p. 467.

I will add but a passage more from a letter of his, dated *Sion*, Oct. 9, 1637, written to the same noble lord.

‘ About the 20th of *September*, my lord of *Holland* went to keep his great court of justice in eyre, both in *Northamptonshire* and *Oxfordshire*. Against *Rockingham* forest were found many great trespassers: my lord was assisted by five judges, *Bridgman*, *Finch*, *Trevor*, *Jones*, and *Crawley*, and those who were found faulty were soundly fined: my lord of *Salisbury*, for his father's faults, if he made any, for *Brigstock* parks, given him by queen *Elizabeth*, was fined 20,000 *l.* but I hope he will come off; for 'tis said, if his council had been well informed by those servants of his who attended the business, and had shewed in time those pardons which king *James* gave *Robert* earl of *Salisbury*, when he came to the crown, he had escaped fining; but now he is at the king's mercy. The earl of *Westmorland* was fined 19000 *l.* sir *Christopher Hatton* 12000 *l.* my lord *Newport* 3000 *l.* sir *Lewis Watson* 4000 *l.* sir *Robert Banister* 3000 *l.* my lord of *Peterborough*, my lord *Brudenell*, sir *Lewis Tresham*, and others, little fines, which I omit. The bounds of the forest of *Rockingham* are increased from six miles to sixty. The particulars of his proceedings in *Oxfordshire*, I know not: it was no great matter he did there. My lord *Danby* was fined 500 *l.* which he hath sent in (w).’ And that no orders or degrees should escape from oppression, there was at the same time ‘ a commission in execution against cottagers, who

(w) *Id.* vol. ii. p. 117.

submit to the payment of them, had their  
goods

‘ who have not four acres of ground laid to their houses,  
‘ upon a statute made 31 *Eliz.* which, saith Mr. *Garrard*, vexeth the poor people mightily, is far more  
‘ burthenfome to them than the ship-moneys; all for the  
‘ benefit of lord *Morton*, and the secretary of *Scotland*,  
‘ the lord *Sterling*: much crying out there is against it,  
‘ especially because mean, needy, and men of no good  
‘ fame, prisoners in the Fleet, are used as principal com-  
‘ missioners to call the people before them, to fine and  
‘ compound with them (x).’ These facts will help us (x) *Straf-*  
to form a tolerable idea of part of the oppressions of this *forde*, vol.  
reign: oppressions unknown to the *English* nation, and ii. P. 117.  
which the king’s best friends have been forced to ac-  
knowledge. Let us hear lord *Clarendon*.—‘ Supple-  
‘ mental acts of state were made to supply defects of  
‘ laws; and so tonnage and poundage, and all other du-  
‘ ties upon merchandizes, were collected by order of the  
‘ board, which had been positively refused to be settled  
‘ by act of parliament, and new and greater impositions  
‘ laid upon trade. Obsolete laws were revived, and  
‘ rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be  
‘ taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a  
‘ detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to  
‘ enquire what was his own. By this ill husbandry the  
‘ king received a vast sum of money from all persons of  
‘ quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition, through-  
‘ out the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which  
‘ though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circum-  
‘ stances of proceeding, was very grievous. And no  
‘ less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many  
‘ scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the  
‘ envy and reproach of which came to the king, the  
‘ profit to other men: insomuch, that of two hundred  
‘ thousand pound drawn from the subject by these ways,  
‘ in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the king’s use  
‘ or account. To recompense the damage the crown  
‘ sustained by the sale of the old lands, and by the grant  
‘ of new pensions, the old laws of the forest were re-  
‘ vived,

goods seized, their persons imprisoned, and heavy fines imposed on them. Arbitrary fines also were laid on such as had neglected to take on them the order of knighthood at his majesty's coronation; monopolies were created, in a manner, of all sorts of commodities; and the bounds of the forests were enlarged, to the unspeakable damage of many persons of the best quality. And lastly, says lord *Clarendon*, ' for a spring and ' magazine that should have no bottom, ' and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ was framed in form of law, ' and directed to the sheriff of every county ' of *England*, to provide a ship of war for ' the king's service, and to send it amply ' provided and fitted, by such a day to such ' a place; and with that writ were sent to ' each sheriff instructions, that, instead of a ' ship, he should levy upon his county such ' a sum of money, and return the same to ' the treasurer of the navy for his majesty's ' use, with direction, in what manner he ' should proceed against such as refused: ' and

' lived, by which not only great fines were imposed, ' but great annual rents intended, and like to be settled ' by way of contract, which burden lighted most upon ' persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore ' like to remember it with more sharpness (y).' After this, who can say any thing in justification of these measures?

(y) *Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 67.

‘ and from hence that tax had the denomi-  
 ‘ nation of ship-money (a).’ This was held <sup>(a) Vol. i.</sup>  
 very grievous by the nation (ccc); but was <sup>p. 68.</sup>  
 sub-

(ccc) *Ship-money.* This was held very grievous by the nation.] I will give an account of this affair in the words of Mr. *Whitlock*. ‘ The king, in the year 1634, finding the controversy begun (between the *English* and *Dutch* about the fishery), and that it must be maintained by force, which his want of money could not do, he, by the advice of his attorney *Noy* [who, from a seemingly zealous patriot, by court influence, was become a tool to destroy the liberties of his country], and of the lord keeper *Coventry*, who, as far as his learning in those matters did extend (and that was not far) did approve and assist the project. And by advice of his privy council, and council learned, the king requires ship-money. The writ for it was at first but to maritime towns and counties; but that not sufficing, other writs were issued out to all counties to levy ship-money. Yet great care was taken to favour the clergy: all the rest of the people, except courtiers and officers, generally murmur at this tax; although it was politically laid with all equality, yet the great objection against it was, because it was imposed without assent of parliament, and therefore it was unlawful (b).’—<sup>(b) Whit-</sup>  
 ‘ The lord keeper *Coventry* was ordered to direct the <sup>lock, p. 234</sup>  
 ‘ judges to promote that business in their circuits this  
 ‘ summer, and to persuade the people to a ready obeying  
 ‘ the writs, and payments of ship-money for the next  
 ‘ year. This he did; and in consequence thereof some  
 ‘ of the judges put on this business in their charges at  
 ‘ the assizes, with great zeal and gravity, to advance the  
 ‘ king’s pleasure; but they did not convince many of the  
 ‘ legality of that business. The privy council also wrote  
 ‘ letters to every high sheriff of *England*, directing them  
 ‘ for the taxing, and levying of ship-money; and that  
 ‘ with great care and equality, much beyond what was  
 ‘ observed in following taxes. But the guilding of this  
 ‘ ille-

submitted to for some time, though unwillingly.

(c) Whitlock, p. 24.

(d) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 344.

(e) Id. p. 481.

‘ illegal pill would not cause it to be swallowed down; but many people, especially of the knowing gentry, expressed great discontent at this new assessment,’ and ‘ burthen, as an imposition against law, and the rights of the subject (c).’ However, the people submitted to it for a time; and it produced to his majesty, in the year 1636, 202240*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* (d).—At last a man of spirit arose: a patriot indeed, the ever-glorious *John Hampden*, who being assessed twenty shillings (e) on the account of ship-money, refused payment; it being, in his opinion, an illegal tax. ‘ Whereupon the king was advised by the lord chief justice *Finch*, and others, to require the opinion of the judges, which he did, stating the case in a letter to them. After much sollicitation by the chief justice *Finch*, promising preferment to some, and highly threatening others whom he found doubting, as themselves reported to me, he got from them, in answer to the king’s letter and case, their opinion in these words: “ We are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, your majesty may, by writ under the great seal of *England*, command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, victuals and ammunition, and for such time as your majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom, from such peril and danger. And that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, that in such case your majesty is the sole judge, both of the dangers, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.”—This opinion was signed by *Bramston*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Hutton*, *Jones*, *Croke*, *Trevor*, *Vernon*, *Berkley*, *Crawley*, *Weston*. This opinion and subscription of the judges was enrolled in all the courts of *Westminster*, and much distasted many gentlemen of the country, and of their own profession, as a thing extrajudicial, unusual, and

ingly. Mr. *Hampden* at length refusing payment

of very ill consequence in this great business, or in any other. The king, upon this opinion of his judges, gave order for proceeding against *Hampden* in the Exchequer, where he pleaded; and the king's council demurring, the point in law came to be argued for the king by his council, and for *Hampden* by his council; and afterwards the judges particularly argued this great point at the Bench, and all of them (except *Hutton* and *Croke*) argued, and gave their judgments for the king.—But *Hampden*, and many others of quality and interest in their countries, were unsatisfied with this judgment, and continued to the utmost of their power in opposition to it; yet could not, at that time, give any further stop or hinderance to the prosecution of the business of ship-money (*f*).—Thus, as lord *Bolingbroke* justly observes, *Charles's* government was not only carried on without law, or against law, but the judges were become the instruments of arbitrary power (*g*).—(*f*) *Whitlock*, p. 25. (*g*) *Craftsman*, vol. vii. p. 393. But this judgment of the judges, in the opinion of lord *Clarendon*, proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (*Mr. Hampden*), than to the king's service (*b*).—My lord *Finch's* speech in the Exchequer-chamber, says the same noble writer, made ship-money much more abhorred, and formidable, than all the commitments by the council-table, and all the distresses taken by the sheriffs in *England*: the major part of men (besides the common unconcernedness in other men's sufferings) looking upon those proceedings with a kind of applause to themselves, to see other men punished for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined, when they found their own interest, by the unnecessary logick of that argument, no less concluded than *Mr. Hampden's* (*i*).—(*b*) *Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 68. (*i*) *Id.* p. 71. And in another place he takes notice, that this pressure of ship-money was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the king, than ever it was after; men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the king's service, as a testimony of their affection,

ment, the case was laid before the judges,  
who

‘ affection, which they were not bound to do ; many  
 ‘ really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking  
 ‘ the burthen reasonable ; others observing, that the ad-  
 ‘ vantage to the king was of importance, when the  
 ‘ damage to them was not considerable ; and all assuring  
 ‘ themselves, that when they should be weary, or un-  
 ‘ willing to continue the payment, they might resort to  
 ‘ the law for relief, and find it. But when they heard  
 ‘ this demanded in a court of law as a right, and found  
 ‘ it, by sworn judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such  
 ‘ grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to  
 ‘ swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and  
 ‘ delight of being kind and dutiful to the king ; and in-  
 ‘ stead of giving, were required to pay, and, by a logic  
 ‘ that left no man any thing which he might call his  
 ‘ own, they no more looked upon it as the case of one  
 ‘ man, but the case of the kingdom ; nor as an imposi-  
 ‘ tion laid upon them by the king, but by the judges ;  
 ‘ which they thought themselves bound, in conscience  
 ‘ to the publick justice, not to submit to. It was an ob-  
 ‘ servation long ago by *Thucydides*, That men are much  
 ‘ more passionate for injustice, than for violence ; because,  
 ‘ says he, the one coming as from an equal, seems ra-  
 ‘ pine ; when the other proceeding from one stronger, is  
 ‘ but the effect of necessity. So, when ship-money was  
 ‘ transacted at the council-board, they looked upon it as  
 ‘ the work of that power they were all obliged to trust,  
 ‘ and an effect of that foresight they were naturally to  
 ‘ rely upon. Imminent necessity and public safety were  
 ‘ convincing persuasions ; and it might not seem of ap-  
 ‘ parent ill consequence to them, that upon an emergent  
 ‘ occasion the regal power should fill up an *hiatus*, or  
 ‘ supply an impotency in the law. But when they saw  
 ‘ in a court of law (that law, that gave them a title to,  
 ‘ and possession of all that they had) reason of state urged  
 ‘ as elements of law, judges as sharp-sighted as secreta-  
 ‘ ries of state, and in the mysteries of state ; judgment  
 ‘ of law grounded upon matter of fact, of which there  
 ‘ was



who unanimously gave their opinion in favour

‘ was neither enquiry nor proof; and no reason given  
 ‘ for the payment of the thirty [twenty] shillings in  
 ‘ question, but what included the estates of all the  
 ‘ standers-by, they had no reason to hope that doctrine,  
 ‘ or the promoters of it, would be contained between  
 ‘ any bounds; and it is no wonder that they who had so  
 ‘ little reason to be pleased with their own condition,  
 ‘ were no less solicitous for, or apprehensive of, the in-  
 ‘ conveniences that might attend any alteration (k).’

(k) Clarendon, vol. i.  
 p. 69.

The many just observations in this quotation will be my apology for the length of it with the intelligent reader, who from thence will easily perceive how illegal and odious this ship-money was.

I will add some particulars concerning this ship-money, for the information and entertainment of the reader. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated *Strand*, Jan. 11, 1634, has the following passage. ‘ In  
 ‘ my last I advertised your lordship, that the mayor of  
 ‘ London received some reprimand, for being so slow in  
 ‘ giving answer to the writ sent into the city about the  
 ‘ shipping business: afterward the city-council were  
 ‘ called before the lords, and received some gentle check,  
 ‘ or rather were admonished, to take heed how they ad-  
 ‘ vised the city in a case so clear for the king, wherein  
 ‘ his majesty had first advised with his learned counsel,  
 ‘ and with his council of state. It wrought this effect,  
 ‘ that they all yielded, and instantly fell to seizing in all  
 ‘ the wards of London. It will cost the city at least  
 ‘ thirty-five thousand pounds. They hoist up the mer-  
 ‘ chant strangers; sir William Curtyre three hundred and  
 ‘ sixty pounds, sir Thomas Cuttcale three hundred pounds:  
 ‘ great sums to pay at one tax, and we know not how  
 ‘ often it may come. It reaches us in the *Strand*, being  
 ‘ within the liberties of *Westminster*, which furnisheth out  
 ‘ one ship. My lord of Bedford sixty pounds; my lord  
 ‘ of Salisbury twenty-five pounds; my lord Clare forty  
 ‘ pounds; the lord keeper, and lord treasurer, twenty  
 ‘ pounds a-piece. Nay lodgers; for I am set at forty  
 ‘ shillings.

vour of the king. Whereupon orders were given

‘ shillings. Giving subsidies in parliament, I was well  
 ‘ content to pay to, which now hath brought me into  
 ‘ this tax; but I tell my lord *Cottington*, that I had rather  
 ‘ give and pay ten subsidies in parliament, than ten  
 ‘ shillings in this new-old way of dead *Noye*’s. Letters  
 ‘ are also gone down to the maritime counties to quicken  
 ‘ them. Have you heard the answer given by a great  
 ‘ lord that hath been a judge? ’Tis true, this writ hath  
 ‘ not been used when tunnage and poundage was granted;  
 ‘ now it is not, but taken by prerogative; *ergo*, this writ  
 ‘ is now in full force (1).’—In another letter of his,  
 dated *Charter-house*, May 10, 1638, he tells his lordship,  
 ‘ Four judges have argued the ship-writ this term: first,  
 ‘ baron *Trevor*, who concluded for the king; with him  
 ‘ judge *Crooke* [*Croke*], who directly concluded against  
 ‘ the legality of the writ. Now at the end of the term  
 ‘ came judge *Jones*, who handled the business so, that  
 ‘ no man could tell what to make of his argument; in  
 ‘ dock, out nettle, sometimes for the king, then for the  
 ‘ subject; so that when he ended, judge *Finch* asked him,  
 ‘ for whom he concluded? He said, for this time for the  
 ‘ king. Judge *Hutton* spake long and strong to make  
 ‘ that good which was his opinion, and concurred with  
 ‘ his brother *Crooke*, concluding against the king (m).’—  
*Laud*, in a letter to *Wentworth*, dated *Lambeth*, 14th  
 May, 1638, speaks of the judgment of the judges in the  
 following terms. ‘ The judges have argued by four in  
 ‘ a term, and so eight are past, and four to come for the  
 ‘ next term: of the eight that are past, none have gone  
 ‘ against the king but *J. Crooke*, and *J. Hutton*, who  
 ‘ both did it, and very sourly. The accidents which  
 ‘ have followed upon it already are these: first, the fac-  
 ‘ tion are grown very bold. Secondly, the king’s monies  
 ‘ come in a great deal more slowly than they did in  
 ‘ former years, and that to a very considerable sum.  
 ‘ Thirdly, it puts thoughts into wise and moderate men’s  
 ‘ heads, which were better out; for they think, if the  
 ‘ judges, which are behind, do not their parts exceed-  
 ‘ ingly

(1) Stra-  
 forde’s let-  
 ters and dis-  
 patches, vol.  
 ., p. 358.

(m) Id. vol.  
 ii, p. 167.

**chequer,**

(n) Straforde's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 170.

(o) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 88.

(p) Whitlock, p. 40.  
(q) Rushworth, vol. iv, p. 130.

chequer, where he pleaded; and the point was urged with great solemnity by the council

names have been had in abhorrence by all the lovers of our constitution. Such as imagine that this imposition was not worth the noise that was made about it in those days, will do well to attend to what follows. It is strong and unanswerable.

'Tis a maxim in politics, which we readily admit as undisputed and universal, that a power, however great, when granted by law to an eminent magistrate, is not so dangerous to liberty, as an authority, however inconsiderable, which he acquires from violence and usurpation. For besides that the law always limits every power, which it bestows, the very receiving it as a concession establishes the authority whence it is derived, and preserves the harmony of the constitution. By the same right that one prerogative is assumed without law, another may also be claimed, and another, with still greater facility: while the first usurpations both serve as precedents to the following, and give force to maintain them. Hence the heroism of *Hampden*, who sustained the whole violence of royal prosecution, rather than pay a tax of 20 s. not imposed by parliament: hence the care of all *English* patriots to guard against the first encroachments of the crown: and hence alone the existence, at this day, of *English* liberty (r).'

(r) Hume's political discourses; p. 152, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1752.

(s) History of Great Britain, p. 217.

(t) Id. p. 219.

Pity it is, this same gentleman had not understood history a little better than to say, in another work, 'that *Charles*, after the laying on of ship-money, in order to discourage all opposition, proposed the question to the judges, which they answered in the manner abovementioned (s);' and that 'all the judges, except *four*, at the public arguing in the Exchequer, gave it in favour of the crown (t):' I say, 'tis pity he should say this, because Mr. *Whitlock*, and our other historians, would have informed him, that *Charles* consulted not the judges till after Mr. *Hampden*'s refusal; and *Croke* and *Hutton* alone, when it came to be publicly argued, gave

cil and the judges, who all, *Croke* and *Hutton* excepted, adhered to their former opinion, and thereby, in effect, gave up every thing to the crown. These oppressions were attended with severe and terrible punishments, inflicted by the Star-chamber (DDD),  
for

gave it against the king.—Historians, above all men, should remember the maxim in *Prior* :

‘ Authors, before they write, shou’d read.’

(DDD) *Severe and terrible punishments were inflicted by the Star-chamber, &c.*] The court of Star-chamber, tho’ of great antiquity, is but little mentioned in the law-books. The reason of which is thought to be, because it intrenched too much upon the common law of *England*. ‘ By a statute made in the third year of king ‘ *Henry* the Seventh, power is given to the chancellor, ‘ the lord treasurer of *England* for the time being, and ‘ the keeper of the king’s privy seal, or two of them, ‘ calling unto them a bishop and a temporal lord of the ‘ king’s most honourable council, and the two chief ‘ justices of the King’s Bench and Common Pleas, for ‘ the time being, or other two justices in their absence, ‘ to proceed as in that act is expressed, for the punishment of some particular offences.’

In the antient year-books it is called *Camera Stellata*, not because the chamber where the court is kept is adorned with stars, but because it is the seat of the great court, and the name is given according to the nature of the judges thereof.—‘ It was a glorious sight, upon a ‘ star-day, when the knights of the garter appear with ‘ the stars on their garments, and the judges in their ‘ scarlet; and in that posture, says *Rushworth*, they have ‘ sat sometimes from nine in the morning till five in the ‘ afternoon. And it was usual for those that came to be ‘ auditors at the sentence given in weighty causes, to be ‘ there by three in the morning to get convenient places, ‘ and standing. - The warden of the Fleet, or his deputy,

for comparatively small matters, exorbitant  
fines

‘puty, constantly attended in court to receive their lord-  
‘ships commands, as there was occasion.’ This court  
was, for the most part, made up of the great officers of  
the crown, the archbishop of *Canterbury*, the lord chan-  
cellor, or lord keeper, and the lord chief justice. ‘In  
‘the time of *Hen. VII.* and *Hen. VIII.* their number  
‘was near 40 at one time, and 30 in the reign of *Eliz.*  
‘oft-times : after that it was much lessened. However,  
‘in *Charles’s* time there were sometimes 24 or 26 mem-  
‘bers present on some important tryals. This court had  
‘many times inflicted fines and punishments ; but ’twas  
‘only in the days of *Charles*, that cropping of ears, slit-  
‘ting of noses, branding of faces, whipping and gagging,  
‘were heard of in it (u).’ These now were become  
common, and excited compassion towards the sufferers,  
and indignation against such as were the authors of their  
calamities.—I have already mentioned the cruel punish-  
ment inflicted on *Leighton*, *Burton*, *Prynne*, *Bastwick*,  
and *Lilburn*, on account of ecclesiastical matters : I will  
add a few more on account of civil affairs, that the  
reader may see the unrelenting severity wherewith the  
people were treated in this reign.

(u) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
ii. p. 473.

‘I remember, says *Osborn*, after *Felton* had given the  
‘fatal blow to *George* duke of *Buckingham*, one *Savil* [he  
‘called himself *Savage*, but his name was *Heron*], for-  
‘merly burnt in the shoulder for a rogue (finding how  
‘acceptable the news was, wherever it came), gave out,  
‘he was the man that did it ; and that, tho’ an honour-  
‘able person’s brother, he wanted money to convey him  
‘away : upon which he was apprehended, and, though  
‘not worth a groat, fined a considerable sum in the Star-  
‘chamber ; to which the wisdom, equity, and justice of  
‘that court added (because they wanted power to hang  
‘him) this corporal punishment, viz. That he should  
‘be whipped from the Fleet, where he lay prisoner, to  
‘the pillory in *Westminster* palace-yard, there to be for  
‘two hours nailed, and after to lose one ear, have his  
‘nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead ; all  
‘which,

finer on persons of all ranks and qualities,  
-toge-

‘ which, as long as the bowels of humanity would give  
‘ me leave, I looked upon. Nor was this more than  
‘ half his punishment, as much being to be done to him  
‘ in *Cheapside*; but that (as I heard) the king, more  
‘ charitable than his judges, did pardon it; though his  
‘ perpetual residence in Bridewell was not remitted, till  
‘ for another thing (some thought unlikely to be done  
‘ under such a restraint) he was hanged at *Tyburn* (w). (w) Of-  
‘ One *Dorothy Blackburn*, for a conspiracy to charge a born’s  
‘ person for treason, was, among other things, ordered works, p.  
‘ to be well whipped in the palace-yard at *Westminster*, 690; and  
‘ standing on a high place with a paper on her head, Rushworth,  
‘ declaring her offence, and be branded in the face with vol. iii. Ap-  
‘ the letter F and A, signifying a false accuser; and to pendix, p.  
‘ stand in like sort, and to be whipt at *Leicester* (x). (x) Id. p.  
‘ One *Watson*, for falsifying the records of the court of 34-  
‘ Star-chamber, was committed to the Fleet, never to  
‘ be enlarged, unless his majesty please to grant him a  
‘ special pardon; and if ever he be enlarged, then to be  
‘ bound to his good behaviour during life, fined 1000 *l.*  
‘ be set on the pillory at *Westminster*, and then branded  
‘ on the forehead with the letter F; and after to be in  
‘ like sort set on the pillory at *Stafford* (y). — One (y) Id. p.  
‘ *Walker* also, for libelling his neighbour, and accusing 39-  
‘ him of stealing of wool, was committed to the Fleet  
‘ during life, fined 1000 *l.* ordered to be set in the pil-  
‘ lory twice, and at each time have an ear cut off, and  
‘ to pay the plaintiff 500 marks damage (z).’ *Bowyer*, (z) Id. p.  
‘ for slandering *Laud* as an Arminian and a Papist, was 60.  
‘ ordered by the court to be committed to Bridewell,  
‘ there to be kept to work during his life, and never suf-  
‘ fered to go abroad, fined 3000 *l.* to be set in the pil-  
‘ lory twice, confess his offence, be burned in the fore-  
‘ head with the letters L and R, and have both his ears  
‘ nailed thereto (a).’ These persons probably deserved (a) Id. p.  
punishment; but surely the punishments inflicted on them 65.  
was beyond their crimes, and favoured much of bar-  
barity!

What

together with the imprisonment of their  
persons

What follows will still farther shew the rigour with which even persons of high quality were treated in this court. Mr. *Garrard*, in a letter to the lord deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London, Nov. 10, 1634*, writes, ‘ The lord *Morley*’s business hath received an hearing in the Star-chamber this term: the charges against him were these; that in court he should say to sir *George Theobalds*, What a base rascal is this? I am no companion for such a base fellow, such a dunghill rogue as thou art; for challenging him to go out of the court, saying, Thou base rascal, I will cut thy throat; for punching him on the breast, and catching him by the throat with his hand: all which was done and said nigh to the chair of state in the room, where their majesties were entering, The lord *Morley*’s counsel confesseth the charge, saying, it was done in a passion (they might have more truly said in a high fit of drunkenness), so submitted to the king’s mercy. The attorney pursues him fiercely, shews his learning, and brings his precedents, all which I omit. The censure begins: my lord *Cottingham* was not there: judge *Jones* began, and all concurred in one sentence, but the two last: ten thousand pounds to the king; one thousand to sir *George Theobalds*. But the archbishop of *Canterbury* [*Laud*], and the lord privy seal, who sat that day in the absence of the lord keeper, find him twenty thousand pounds, besides imprisonment in the Tower, where I leave him (*b*).—Much noise here is of the depopulators that are come into the Star-chamber: it will bring in great sums of money. Sir *Henry Wallop* and sir *Thomas Thynne* are in already: the latter is spared this year from being sheriff in *Wiltshire*, because he may follow his cause. Sharp proceedings against such as live in town, and out of their countries, without leave: the lord *Grey* of *Werk* they fall first on, then my lord of *Clare* (*c*).’ The same gentleman, in a letter to his lordship, written *May 19th, 1635*, tells him, ‘ Some few censures passed here in the Star-chamber this term,  
‘ two

(b) *Stratford*’s letters, vol. i. p. 335.

(c) *Id.* p. 337.



*The LIFE of CHARLES I.* 269

persons for a great length of time. These censures

‘ two of them *ore tenus* : one *Maxwell*, a *Scotishman*, for  
 ‘ a scandalous petition to the king against the lord keeper  
 ‘ and the whole council, for which he was fined three  
 ‘ thousand pounds; but is not worth much: also the  
 ‘ keeper of Newgate, he is more able; and lastly, my  
 ‘ lord *Saville*, who in the suit betwixt my lord *Newcastle*  
 ‘ and himself, with his complices, was fined five thou-  
 ‘ sand pounds, his part three thousand pounds. He went  
 ‘ to the Fleet, and there lay till he gave security for the  
 ‘ payment of his fine, such as it should be, when it was  
 ‘ mitigated (d).’

In another letter, dated *London*, Feb. 7, 1637, we have the following passage. ‘ A sentence in the Star-chamber

(d) Strafforde's letters, vol. i. p. 426.

‘ this term hath demolished all the houses about *Piccadilly*; by Midsummer they must be pulled down, which  
 ‘ have stood since the 13th of king *James*: they are  
 ‘ found to be great nuisances, and much foul the springs  
 ‘ of water, which pass by those houses to *Whitehall*, and  
 ‘ to the city (e).’

(e) Id. vol. ii. p. 150.

The city of *London* also, on pretence that she had imposed on king *James*, and had not performed the conditions on which *Londonderry* was granted her, was fined in the sum of seventy thousand pounds (f), and her plantation was taken from her. ‘ This act, says *Lilly*, so im-  
 ‘ bittered the spirits of the citizens, that although they  
 ‘ were singularly invited for loan of moneys, and had as  
 ‘ great plenty in their possessions as ever, yet would they  
 ‘ not contribute any assistance or money against the  
 ‘ *Scots*, or advance of his majesty in his *Scotish* expedi-  
 ‘ tion (g).’

(f) Id. p. 463, and Whitlock, p. 35.

(g) Lilly,

I will add but one account more of the severity of this court, in the words of *Whitlock*. ‘ The bishop of *Lincoln* was brought to a sentence in the Star-chamber, for  
 ‘ disloyal words charged to be spoken by him against the  
 ‘ king, and for suborning witnesses to conceal a truth,  
 ‘ and to stifle a crime. He was at last fined ten thousand  
 ‘ pounds, committed to the Tower during pleasure,  
 ‘ suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, and referred to the high  
 ‘ com-

p. 46; Whitlock, p. 35.

cenfures created great difgufts, and occa-  
fioned

‘ commiffion court, for that which concerned their ju-  
‘ rifdiction. Mr. *Osbaldfton* was alfo heavily sentenced  
‘ in the Star-chamber, upon the bufinefs of the bifhop  
‘ of *Lincoln* [fined five thoufand pounds, deprived of his  
‘ ecclefiaftical preferments, his ears to be tacked to the  
‘ pillory, and cofts of fuit to *Laud*]; but he got out of  
‘ the way, leaving a paper in his ftudy, with this infcrip-  
‘ tion, That *Lambert Osbaldfton* was gone beyond *Can-*  
‘ *terbury*.—Thefe proceedings in the Star-chamber  
‘ againft thefe perfons, continues this writer, raifed a  
‘ deep diftafte in the hearts of many people, which fome  
‘ expreffed by their murmurings, and gave out *Canter-*  
‘ *bury* to be the author of them; more particularly  
‘ againft *Lincoln* upon private grudges, and emulation  
(b) Whit- ‘ between thefe two prelates (b).’ What wonder is it  
lock, p. 26. ‘ a deep diftafte fhould be raifed in the hearts of many at  
thefe proceedings, which were fo rigorous, fevere, and  
difproportioned to the crimes real or imputed? The  
punifhments inflicted were barbarous and inhuman, and  
fuch as none but weak and cruel minds could fuggelt or  
countenance; the fines immoderate and exceffive, and  
fuch as brought on beggary and ruin, and, for the moft  
part, were in effect an imprifonment for life. In fhort,  
the proceedings of this court, in this reign, were arbitrary,  
tyrannical, and abfolutely illegal. In the aft for the re-  
gulating of the privy council, and for taking away the  
‘ court commonly called the Star-chamber, it is declared,  
‘ That the judges of this court had undertaken to punifh  
‘ where no law doth warrant, and to make decrees for  
‘ things having no fuch authority, and to inflict heavier  
‘ punifhments than by any law is warranted.’ And  
moreover it is afferted, ‘ That the proceeding, cenfures,  
‘ and decrees of that court have, by experience, been  
‘ found to be an intolerable burthen to the fubject, and  
‘ the means to introduce an arbitrary power and govern-  
‘ ment.’ This is the cenfure paffed on it by the higheft  
authority, which therefore, with the high commiffion, a  
court of a like infamous nature, were for ever abolifhed  
by

fioned bitter reflections on *Charles's* government; and, if we may speak the truth, they were not without foundation.

While his majesty was carrying things with so high an hand in *England*, where law was trampled under foot, and tyranny was openly erected (EEE), he attempted to intro-

by acts of parliament (i), and it is to be hoped will never more be revived. (i) Stat. 16 Car. c. 2. sect. 11.

(EEE) *In England law was trampled under foot, and tyranny openly erected.*] That *Charles* acted without and contrary to law, no man, who attends to what is contained in the preceding notes, can pretend to deny; unless one, who is heir to the modesty of *Bevil Higgons*, who tells us, that 'he granted the petition of right, and 'abridged his own legal authority, meerly to oblige his 'people, by such convincing testimonies of his bounty 'and goodness (k).' This is worthy of the writer, but is below the censure of any one who has a tolerable idea of the reign of this monarch. *Charles*, it appears manifestly, acted without, and against, law, and therefore must be deemed to have behaved tyrannically.—'Wherever 'law ends, tyranny begins, if the law be transgressed to 'another's harm. And whosoever in authority exceeds 'the power given him by the law, and makes use of the 'force he has under his command, to compass that upon 'the subject which the law allows not, ceases in that to 'be a magistrate; and acting without authority may be 'opposed, as any other man, who by force invades the 'right of another. This is acknowledged in *Subordinato Magistrates*. He that hath authority to seize my person in the street, may be opposed as a thief and a robber if he endeavours to break into my house to execute a writ, notwithstanding that I know he has such a warrant, and such a legal authority, as will empower him to arrest me abroad. And why this should not hold in the highest, as well as in the most inferiour magistrature,

(k) Higgon's short view of the English constitution, p. 267, 8vo. Hague, 1727.

introduce innovations in the kingdom of *Scotland* (FFF), and of such a kind too, as were

‘ gisfrate, I would gladly be informed. Is it reasonable  
 ‘ that the eldest brother, because he has the greatest part  
 ‘ of his father’s estate, should thereby have a right to  
 ‘ take away any of his younger brothers portions? Or  
 ‘ that a rich man, who possessed a whole country, should  
 ‘ from thence have a right to seize, when he pleased,  
 ‘ the cottage and garden of his poor neighbour? The  
 ‘ being rightfully possessed of great power and riches,  
 ‘ exceedingly beyond the greatest part of the sons of  
 ‘ *Adam*, is so far from being an excuse, much less a  
 ‘ reason, for rapine and oppression, which the enda-  
 ‘ maging another without authority is, that it is a great  
 ‘ aggravation of it. For the exceeding the bounds of  
 ‘ authority, is no more a right in a great than a petty  
 ‘ officer, no more justifiable in a king than a constable:  
 ‘ but it is so much the worse in him, in that he has more  
 ‘ trust put in him, has already a much greater share than  
 ‘ the rest of his brethren, and is supposed, from the ad-  
 ‘ vantages of his education, employment, and counsel-  
 ‘ lors, to be more knowing in the measures of right and  
 ‘ wrong (l).’ The reader will see the force of this rea-  
 ‘ soning, and apply it to its proper use.

(l) Locke  
 of govern-  
 ment, p.  
 278.

(FFF) Charles attempted to introduce innovations in  
 Scotland.] The affairs of *Scotland*, Charles had very  
 much at heart. He was desirous of having that nation  
 at his beck, and subjecting it, under him, to a priestly  
 yoke. ‘ And *Laud*, says lord *Bolingbroke*, who had  
 ‘ neither temper nor knowledge of the world, enough to  
 ‘ be entrusted with the government of a private college,  
 ‘ conducted this enterprize, and precipitated the public  
 ‘ ruin (m).’ The reformation of religion in *Scotland*  
 was introduced by *John Knox*. The doctrines taught by  
 him were of like kind with those contained in the articles  
 of the church of *England*: the government and discipline  
 different from what her canons enjoin. For *Knox*, after  
 the manner of the foreign reformers, was an enemy to the

(m) Craft-  
 man, vol.  
 vii. p. 393.

were deemed inconsistent with their laws,  
liber-

the pomp of prelacy, and an encourager of great severity of manners among clergy and people. This was agreeable to the taste of the *Scotish* nation, and accordingly his doctrine was received and adhered to with a zeal scarce conceivable. What tended much to gain a favourable reception to the tenets of *Knox*, was their utility to the state. For church-lands were deemed by him fit to be alienated, and tithes abolished, tho' he judged it but reasonable that the ministers of the church should have a decent maintenance from the public. The *Scotch* nobility were not backward to put in practice this wholesome doctrine, and thereby advanced their own estates, as well as the common good.—True it is, there was a hankering from the beginning among some of the ecclesiastics after that pomp, power, and riches which the zeal and industry of *Knox* had abolished; and therefore we soon find the names of archbishop and bishops in the history of that church, after the reformation. But their power was insignificant, their wealth small, and they had not the title of My Lord given them, as I can find; tho' perhaps they might have taken the appellation as kindly as the *Danish* superintendants.—However, even this pre-eminence did not last long; for presbyterian government was established in the church, by law, in the year 1592 (n): tho' afterwards, when *James* had mounted the *English* throne, by art and money he introduced again the name and some part of the power of bishops, to the great grief of the *Scotish* clergy. But what *James* had with trouble and expence done, no way satisfied *Charles*. He was determined to establish a uniformity of church-government throughout his kingdoms, and to let the clergy partake of a dominion to which they were too prone. In a kingdom poor, and abounding with nobility, he impolitically was for erecting bishopricks and archbishopricks, and thereby hurting the community in a very sensible manner. For the wealth, which was necessary to support these, was wanting for the purposes of society, and would have turned to good account, had it

T  
been

(n) Bishop Guthry's memoirs, p. 4.

liberties, and religion. For he broke in on the privileges of the *Scotish* parliament; caused an unjust

been well employed.—In order to advance this project, Charles went down into *Scotland*, accompanied with *Laud*, in the year 1633, where he was crowned with great solemnity. ‘It was observed, says *Rushworth*, that Dr. *Laud*, then bishop of *London*, was high in his carriage, taking upon him the order and managing of the ceremonies and coronation; and, for an instance, *Spotswood*, archbishop of *St. Andrew’s*, being placed at the king’s right hand, and *Lindsey*, then archbishop of *Glasgow*, at his left, bishop *Laud* took *Glasgow* and thrust him from the king, with these words: “Are you a churchman, and wants the coat of your order?” (which was an embroidered coat, and that he scrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman) and in place of him put in the bishop of *Rosse* at the king’s left hand (o). —In the parliament held on this occasion, there was little or no difference, except in what related to two acts: the one entituled, an act anent his majestie’s royal prerogative, and apparel of kirkmen. The other an act of ratification of the acts touching religion. As to the former of these acts, several noblemen and others were not pleased to have the apparel of kirkmen joined with the prerogative, suspecting the surplice to be intended; and the king being asked that question, made no answer. But this circumstance was observed of him, that he took a list of the whole members out of his pocket, and said, “Gentlemen, I have all your names here; and I’ll know who will do me service, and who will not, this day.” However, about thirteen noblemen, and as many barons and burgessees, declared, that they agreed to the act for his majestie’s prerogative; but dissented from that part of it, as to the apparel of kirkmen (p).’

(o) *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 182.

(p) *Id.* p. 183.

‘Great opposition was made to this act by the earl of *Rothes*, who desired the acts might be divided: but the king said it was now one act, and he must either vote for it, or against it. He said he was for the prerogative

unjust condemnation of one of its members ;  
attempted

as much as any man ; but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in such matters without the consent of the clergy, at least without their being heard. The king bid him argue no more, but give his vote : so he voted, not content. Some few lords offered to argue ; but the king stopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole commons voted in the negative ; so that the act, indeed, was rejected by the majority : which the king knew ; for he had called for a list of the members, and with his own pen had marked every man's vote : yet the clerk of register, who gathers and declares the votes, said it was carried in the affirmative. The earl of *Rothes* affirmed it for the negative : but the king said, the clerk of register's declaration must be held good, unless the earl of *Rothes* would go to the bar, and accuse him of falsifying the record of parliament, which was capital : and in that case, if he should fail in the proof, he was liable to the same punishment ; so he would not venture on that. Thus the act was published, tho' in truth it was rejected. The king expressed an high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition. Upon that, the lords had many meetings : they reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the clerk of register might declare as he pleased how the vote went, and that no scrutiny were allowed. Upon that *Hague*, the king's solicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be signed by the lords, and to be offered by them to the king, setting forth all their grievances, and praying redress. He shewed this to some of them, and among others to the lord *Balmerinock*, who liked the main of it ; but was for altering it in some particulars. He spoke of it to the earl of *Rothes*, in the presence of the earl of *Cassilis*, and some others : none of them approved of it. The earl of *Rothes* carried it to the king, and told him, that there was a design to offer a petition, in order to the explaining and justifying

attempted to restore church and abbey-lands;  
created

ing their proceedings, and that he had a copy to shew him: but the king would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a stop to it; for he would receive no such petition. The earl of *Rothes* told this to *Balmerinock*; so the thing was laid aside, only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in some places with his own hand.—The winter after the king was in *Scotland*, *Balmerinock* was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable; and, in order to that, he shewed it to one *Dunmoor*, a lawyer, in whom he trusted, and desired his opinion of it, and suffered him to carry it home with him; but charged him to shew it to no person, and to take no copy of it. He shewed it, under a promise of secrecy, to one *Hay* of *Naughton*, and told him from whom he had it. *Hay*, looking on the paper, and seeing it a matter of some consequence, carried it to *Spotswood*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*; who, apprehending it was going about for hands, was alarmed at it, and went immediately for *London*, beginning his journey, as he often did, on a *Sunday*, which was a very odious thing in that country.—An order hereupon was sent down for committing lord *Balmerinock*, who was tried on an old law, never put in force, and, by court artifices, condemned to lose his life, though he afterwards had a pardon (q). We see here by what violences these innovations were made in the *Scottish* kirk, and how hard the government bore on the liberties and lives of that people. No wonder then they were so strongly prejudiced against it, and that the bishops it had created were held in abhorrence; especially as bishop *Guthry* tells us, that none of the bishops, whom king *Charles* preferred, were generally esteemed gifted for the office, except bishop *Maxwell* (r). But ill qualified as these men were, they carried themselves so loftily, that ministers seemed little in their reckoning (s).—Let us hear bishop *Burnet's* account of their behaviour. 'The bishops were cherished by *Charles* with all imaginable expressions of kindness and confidence; but they lost all

(q) *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 183; *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 28-34; *Guthry's* memoirs, p. 9.

(r) *Id.* p. 14.

(s) *Id.* p. 15.



created a lordly race of prelates, on whom  
he

all their esteem with the people, and that upon divers accounts. The people of *Scotland* had drunk in a deep prejudice against every thing that favoured of popery. This the bishops judged was too high, and therefore took all means possible to lessen it, both in sermons and discourses, mollifying their opinions and commending their persons, not without some reflections on the reformers. But this was so far from gaining their design, that it abated nothing of the zeal against popery, but very much heightened the rage against themselves, as favouring it too much. There were also subtil questions started some years before in *Holland*, about predestination and grace; and *Arminius* his opinion, as it was condemned in a synod at *Dort*, so was generally ill reported of in all reformed churches, and no where worse than in *Scotland*: but most of the bishops and their adherents undertook openly and zealously the defence of these tenets. Likewise the *Scotish* ministers and people had ever a great respect to the Lord's-day, and generally the morality of it is reckoned an article of faith among them: but the bishops not only undertook to beat down this opinion, but, by their practices, expressed their neglect of that day; and, after all this, they declared themselves avowed zealots for the liturgy and ceremonies of *England*, which were held by the zealous of *Scotland* all one with popery. Upon these accounts it was, that they lost all their esteem with the people.

Neither stood they in better terms with the nobility, who at that time were as considerable as ever *Scotland* saw them; and so proved more sensible of injuries, and more capable of resenting them. They were offended with them, because they seemed to have more interest with the king than they themselves had, so that favours were mainly distributed by their recommendation: they were also upon all affairs; nine of them were privy counsellours, divers of them were of the Exchequer: *Spotiswood*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, was  
made

he heaped secular honours and preferments,  
who

‘ made chancellor; and *Maxwell*, bishop of *Ross*, was  
‘ fair for the Treasury, and engaged in a high rivalry  
‘ with the earl of *Traquair*, then treasurer, which tended  
‘ not a little to help forward their ruin. And besides  
‘ this, they began to pretend highly to the tithes and  
‘ impropriations, and had gotten one *Learmouth*, a mi-  
‘ nister, presented abbot of *Lindor*; and seemed confi-  
‘ dent to get that state of abbots, with all the revenue  
‘ and power belonging to it, again restored into the  
‘ hands of churchmen; designing also, that, according  
‘ to the first institution of the college of justice, the half  
‘ of them should be churchmen. This could not but  
‘ touch many of the nobility in the quick, who were too  
‘ large sharers in the patrimony of the church, not to be  
‘ very sensible of it.

‘ They were no less hateful to the ministry, because  
‘ of their pride, which was cried out upon as unsup-  
‘ portable. Great complaints were also made of simo-  
‘ niacal pactions with their servants, which was im-  
‘ puted to their masters, as if it had been for their ad-  
‘ vantage, at least by their allowance. They also ex-  
‘ acted a new oath of intrants (besides what was in the  
‘ act of parliament for obedience to their ordinary), in  
‘ which they were obliged to obey the articles of *Perth*,  
‘ and submit to the liturgy and canons. They were  
‘ also making daily inroads upon their jurisdiction, of  
‘ which the ministers were very sensible; and universally  
‘ their great rigour against any that favoured of purita-  
‘ nism, together with their meddling in all secular af-  
‘ fairs, and relinquishing their dioceses to wait on the  
‘ court and council, made them the objects of all men’s  
‘ fury (t).’—And how could it otherwise be, where  
‘ men preserved their reason, and had the least notion of  
‘ the spirit of the gospel? Ambitious, tyrannical, persec-  
‘ uting bishops must be odious in the sight of God and  
‘ man, and deserving the worst fate. Generally speaking,  
‘ shame and contempt are their portion whilst in life; but  
‘ after death, historians will draw them in their true co-  
‘ lours,

(t) Memoirs  
of the duke  
of Hamil-  
ton, p. 29.

who behaved unacceptably to all orders and degrees

lours, and hand them down to posterity with infamy; and 'tis well if they meet not with a worse treatment in another state.—But to return. ‘ The king, at his coming to *Scotland*, says *Guthry*, in the year 1633, had brought with him *Dr. Laud*, then bishop of *London*, shortly after archbishop of *Canterbury*; (one who had much power with his majesty, but was generally hated by the people.) He beholding our form of worship, did (in conference with our bishops, and others of the clergy) tax the nakedness thereof in divers respects, but chiefly for our want of a liturgy, whereby he thought all might be helped. The old bishops replied, that in king *James’s* time there had a motion been made for it; but that the presenting thereof was deferred, in regard the articles of *Pertb*, then introduced, proved so unwelcome to the people, that they thought it not safe nor fit, at that time, to venture upon any further innovations; and they were not yet without some fear, that, if it should be gone about, the consequence thereof might be very sad. But bishop *Maxwell*, and with him *Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe* (who was then but a candidate), and *Mr. Mitchel*, and others, pressed hard that it might be, assuring that there was no kind of danger in it; whereupon bishop *Laud* (who spake as he would have it) moving the king to declare it to be his will, that there should be a liturgy in this church, his majesty commanded the bishops to go about the forming of it (u).’ The bishops applied themselves to the work; but first of all, they presented a body of canons to precede the liturgy. These canons carried high the authority of princes in ecclesiastical affairs, and were calculated to promote the wealth and grandeur of the clergy. They moreover determined, that no clergyman should conceive prayers *ex tempore*; but be bound to pray only by the form prescribed by the liturgy, which was not then seen or framed. These canons were, by proclamation from his majesty, duly to be observed, and the clergy to be sworn to submit to,

(u) *Guthry’s*  
memoirs,  
p. 15.

degrees of men; and, to complete all, attempted

(w) See  
Crawford's  
account of  
the officers  
of the crown  
of Scotland,  
p. 178, 179,  
Lond. fol.  
1736.  
Clarendon,  
vol. i. p.  
104--107,

and pay all obedience to what was enjoined by them (w). We may be sure these things could not pass unnoticed; but the liturgy preparing was more dreadful to the people, who, throughout the land, clamoured 'that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the bishop of *Canterbury* and other bishops, and that they (being suborned by him) were bringing in the mass-book.' This clamour terrified some of the wisest among the bishops, who thereupon desired that the book might be kept back, till the nation were better prepared to receive it. But it was in vain; 'for *Laud* procured for himself a warrant from the king, to command the bishops (upon all hazards) to go forward in it; threatening them withal, that if they lingered in it longer, the king would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute men, who would not be afraid to do him service.' 'Thereafter, says bishop *Guthrie*, 'tis remarkable, that the bishops acted so far contrary to those rules of prudence whereby they had been accustomed to manage their affairs, that all men began to espie a fatality in it. For they laboured not (as formerly they had done in lesser matters) to have their book brought in by an ecclesiastical sanction; but having gotten it authorized by an act of council, proceeded without more ado to urge the practice thereof: whereby they provoked against themselves the most part even of those ministers that were episcopal in their judgment, who thought it a very sad matter, that a liturgy should be imposed upon the church, without the knowledge and consent of the church; and judged it such a dangerous preparative, that thereby the civil power might in after-times introduce any thing (tho' never so hurtful to religion), and the church never get one voice in it; and they were the more offended, in regard king *James*, of blessed memory, had never pressed any thing that way; but whatsoever he would have done, he used to take a church-way in it. Neither did they at first urge the practice of their liturgy upon the remotest dioceses,

and

tempted to introduce a liturgy, most odious in the sight of that nation. But *Charles* soon found that the *Scotch* were not patient under oppressions, like the *English*. For upon reading the service-book in the church of *Edinburgh*, tumults arose (GGG), which with

‘ and other places, where there was the least averfeness  
‘ from such changes; but made the first essays where  
‘ opposition was most probably to be expected (x).’ (x) *Guthry’s*  
Surely such conduct as this merited almost the fate it memoirs, p.  
afterwards met with! *Charles* must have had strange 17--19.  
notions of his own power, if he could have imagined  
himself able to force these things on the *Scotish* nation;  
and he must have been very ill read in their annals, if he  
thought they would patiently submit to it without com-  
pulsion. But however it was, his management in *Scot-*  
*land* first brought him into difficulties, which he was ill  
qualified to encounter, and which nothing but his death  
put a period to.

(GGG) Upon reading the service-book at *Edinburgh*,  
tumults arose, &c.] On *Easter-day* 1637, the liturgy  
was appointed to be read for the first time in the cathed-  
ral church at *Edinburgh*: ‘ but no sooner had the dean  
‘ of *Edinburgh* appeared in his surplice, and began to  
‘ read the liturgy, but a multitude of the meaner sort,  
‘ most of them women, with clapping of hands, cla-  
‘ mours and outcries, raised a hideous noise and confu-  
‘ sion in the church, that no words could be heard dis-  
‘ tinctly; and then a shower of stones and sticks, and  
‘ cudgels, were thrown at the dean’s head. The bishop  
‘ of the place, *Dr. Lindsay*, who was to preach that day,  
‘ stepped into the pulpit, hoping to appease the tumult by  
‘ minding them of the sacredness of the place, and of  
‘ their duty to God and the king; but they were the  
‘ more enraged, and an old woman ushered in the future  
‘ war by throwing a stool at his head, which might have  
‘ endangered his life; upon this the archbishop of *St.*  
‘ *Andrew*

with great difficulty, for the present, were  
ap-

‘ *Andrew’s*, the lord chancellor, from his seat, was  
‘ obliged to call down from the gallery the provost and  
‘ magistrates of the city, by their authority to suppress  
‘ the riot; which, at last, with great difficulty they did,  
‘ by thrusting the most unruly of those who made the  
‘ disturbance out of the church, and shutting the doors.  
‘ After which the dean proceeded in the service; but  
‘ still was greatly disturbed by the loud clamours of the  
‘ multitude without, who pelted the doors and windows  
‘ with sticks and stones, and cried out, a pape! a pape!  
‘ Antichrist! pull him down! stane him! with all the  
‘ marks of ungovernable fury. Notwithstanding, the ser-  
‘ vice was ended, but not the people’s rage; for when the  
‘ bishops went out of the church, the rabble followed  
‘ them with all the opprobrious language they could in-  
‘ vent, of bringing in superstition and popery into the  
‘ kingdom, and making the people slaves: and were not  
‘ content to use their tongues, but employed their hands  
‘ too, in throwing dirt and stones at them; and treated  
‘ Dr. *Lindsay*, the bishop of *Edinburgh*, whom they  
‘ looked upon as most active that way, so rudely, that  
‘ he got into a house, after they had torn his habit, and  
‘ was from thence removed to his own with great hazard  
‘ of his life. As this was the reception it had in the  
‘ cathedral, so it fared not better in the other churches  
‘ of the city, but was entertained with the same cla-  
‘ mouring and outcries, and threatening the men, whose  
‘ office it was to read it, with the same execrations against  
‘ bishops and popery (y).’ This tumult was soon made  
‘ known to the court, as well as the dissatisfaction which  
‘ most men expressed against the service-book. But his  
‘ majesty, ‘ instead of discharging of it, as peaceable men  
‘ expected and wished (z), caused a proclamation to be  
‘ read at the market-cross, ordaining the service-book to  
‘ be practised at *Edinburgh*, and other places adjacent;  
‘ the council and sessions to remove from *Edinburgh*, first  
‘ to *Lithgoe*, and afterwards to *Stirling*; and the nobility,  
‘ gentry, burghers, ministers and commons, who were  
‘ come

(y) *Craw-  
furd’s lives*,  
p. 181.

(z) *Guthry*,  
p. 24.

appeased. But they were soon renewed,  
(on

‘ come to *Edinburgh* to petition against it in vast numbers, were ordered to depart towards their own homes, within twenty-four hours, under pain of horning (a).<sup>2</sup> (a) Guthry, P. 24.  
The tumults were upon this again renewed, and the officers of state, bishops, and city-magistrates, were in great peril; but applying to the lords in the opposition, they were delivered. It would be useless to enter into a detail of these affairs, they being to be found in so many writers. Let it suffice to say, that tho’ a proclamation was issued to repress these disorders, little obedience was given to it; that a petition from the noblemen, barons, burgesses, ministers and commons, was sent to council-board against the liturgy and canons; that tho’ his majesty was displeased hereat, and by proclamation forbade tumultuous resorts to *Edinburgh*, under the highest penalties; yet several of the nobility caused their protestation against it to be read; erected four tables, who were to prepare what was to be propounded at the general table; and that the first act of this general table was a renewing of the antient confession of faith of that kirk, and entering into a general covenant to preserve the religion there professed, and the king’s person (b). His majesty hearing (b) Whitlock, P. 27.  
of this, made various propositions to reduce them to obedience; and was forced at last to consent that the canons, service-book, and high-commission, should be nulled; and that all persons whatsoever should be liable to censure of parliament and general assembly. But as his majesty offered not to abolish archbishops and bishops by law, no accommodation was to be made; but the disorders continued and increased. For *Charles*, as if his conduct had not procured him enemies enough in this kingdom, added another to them, of great power, viz. *Archibald* earl of *Argyle*. This we are informed of in a letter of the lord deputy *Wentworth* to sir *Henry Vane*, treasurer of the household, dated *Fairwood-Park*, Ap. 16, 1639. ‘ It should seem to me, for I was not of the council, my lord marquis *Hamilton*, and my lord of *Antrim*, had to his majesty undertaken the business [of  
‘ beating

(on *Charles's* ordering, by proclamation, the service-

(c) Strafforde's letters, vol. ii. p. 325.

' beating *Argyle* out of the western Isles] before the earl  
' of *Antrim's* coming forth of *England*, consequently be-  
' fore *Argyle* was declared covenanter: my lord of *An-*  
' *trim* was, for his reward, to have had a share of his  
' estate: what other shares there were, any, or none, in  
' truth I know not. Now, howbeit this was carried  
' very secretly to us on this side, yet *Argyle* got know-  
' ledge of it there, and certainly occasioned him to de-  
' clare himself sooner for the covenant, than otherwise  
' perchance he would have done; but whether that had  
' been better or worse for his majestie's service, I am not  
' able to judge (c).' In short, things now were come  
' to a head, and preparations for war were made of all  
' sides; for the *Scots* were determined not to submit till  
they had satisfaction given them in their demands, and  
*Charles* was as determined to force them to a compliance  
with his will: and his two great ministers, *Wentworth*  
and *Laud*, were not wanting to urge him on hereunto;  
for they could not bear the thought that his majestie's  
will should be resisted, especially by the *Scots*, whose  
power did not seem to them over-formidable. Let us  
hear them speaking to each other without reserve. The  
lord deputy, in a letter to *Laud*, dated *Dublin*, Nov. 27,  
1638, writes as follows: ' It was ever clear in my judg-  
' ment, that the business of *Scotland*, so well laid, so  
' pleasing to God and man, had it been effected, was  
' miserably lost in the execution, yet could never have so  
' fatally miscarried, if there had not been a failure like-  
' wise in the direction, occasioned either by over-great  
' desires to do all quietly without noise, by the state of  
' the business misrepresented, by opportunities and sea-  
' sons slipped, or by some such like. Besides, it some-  
' times falls out, that out of an easiness and sweetness of  
' nature, some men insensibly suffer oppositions, which  
' at first were easily brought to obedience, to grow and  
' go on so far, as thereby to difficult their own affairs,  
' and discourage their own party most extremely, which  
' I have often observed in an hundred men. Neverthe-  
less,



(service-book to be continued) to the great  
peril

‘ less, in my opinion, that error would not be seconded  
‘ with a far greater, which would be indeed more  
‘ grievous, more terrible; for should these rude spirits  
‘ carry it thus from the king’s honour to their own  
‘ churlish wills, it would have a most fearful operation,  
‘ I fear, as well upon *England* as themselves; therefore,  
‘ God Almighty guide his majestie’s counsels, and  
‘ strengthen his courage: for if he master not them, and  
‘ this affair tending so much and visibly to the tranquility  
‘ and peace of his kingdoms, to the honour of Almighty  
‘ God, I shall be to seek for any probable judgment  
‘ what is like next to befall us at after (d).’ To this

*Laud*, in his letter of the 29th Dec. 1638, replied in  
these words: ‘ Indeed, my lord, the business of *Scotland*,  
(d) Stra-  
forde’s let-  
ters, vol. ii.  
p. 250.

‘ I can be bold to say without vanity, was well laid, and  
‘ was a great service to the crown, as well as to God  
‘ himself. And that it should so fatally fail in the execu-  
‘ tion, is a great blow as well to the power as the honour  
‘ of the king. And your lordship is most right in say-  
‘ ing there was a failure in the direction; for the truth  
‘ is, there was too great a desire there to do all without  
‘ noise, and there was undoubtedly a great misrepresent-  
‘ tion of the business itself there; and some seasons  
‘ and opportunities slipt, and that more than once, and  
‘ the easy suffering of oppositions too common in an  
‘ hundred men and more. But these three last, by your  
‘ lordship’s leave, were all errors about the execution,  
‘ not the direction: but the first of these mentioned by  
‘ you, was indeed an error in the direction, and a great  
‘ one; but I could not help it. For such of the bishops  
‘ of *Scotland* as were trusted with it were all for the quiet  
‘ way, and that fitting his majestie’s disposition, I was  
‘ not able to withstand it, and indeed must have been  
‘ thought very bold, had I taken upon me to understand  
‘ the course of that church and kingdom better than  
‘ they. But the main failure in the direction, if I mis-  
‘ take not, was, that all the lords of that council were  
‘ not more thoroughly dealt with by the king, and their judg-

peril of the chief officers of state. Upon this,

‘ judgments more thoroughly sifted, before any thing had  
 ‘ been put to execution. And I am confident all had  
 ‘ gone well enough, if *Traquair* had done his duty; but  
 ‘ he thought he had all in a string, and, out of a desire  
 ‘ to disgrace some bishops, did not only suffer, but cer-  
 ‘ tainly underhand do some things, which let all loose,  
 ‘ and quite out of their imagined power to recall. And  
 ‘ this was the greatest barre of the business which I have  
 ‘ been able to observe, next to the over-much confidence  
 ‘ which the king would still put in him, notwithstanding  
 ‘ some bishops still informed how false and unworthy  
 ‘ his carriage was. And for that which follows, I  
 ‘ wholly agree with you, that since it is come to this  
 ‘ height, if his majesty do not master them, and bring  
 ‘ them under obedience, the first error will be so far  
 ‘ seconded with a greater, as that the consequences may  
 ‘ be God knows what; such, I am sure, as I hold not fit  
 ‘ to prognosticate (e).’ These passages clearly shew the  
 genius of their writers, and the opinion they entertained  
 of the northern commotions. But as much as they were  
 for using force against the *Scots*, in order to make them  
 say their prayers by book, and submit to the wholesome  
 rule of the bishops, if we may believe my lord *Northum-*  
*berland*, *Charles* was but in an ordinary condition to ac-  
 complish it. For in a letter to the lord deputy *Went-*  
*worth*, dated *London, Jan. 2, 1638*, we have the follow-  
 ing expressions: ‘ The nominating of the commanders,  
 ‘ and the directions that have been given for the order-  
 ‘ ing and disposing of the martial preparations, have here  
 ‘ made a very great noise. But I assure your lordship,  
 ‘ to my understanding (with sorrow I speak it), we are  
 ‘ altogether in as ill a posture to invade others, or to de-  
 ‘ fend ourselves, as we were a twelvemonth since, which  
 ‘ is more than any man can imagine, that is not an eye-  
 ‘ witness of it. The discontents here at home do rather  
 ‘ increase than lessen, there being no course taken to  
 ‘ give any kind of satisfaction. The king’s coffers were  
 ‘ never emptier than at this time, and to us that have  
 ‘ the

(e) Stra-  
 forde’s let-  
 ters, vol. ii.  
 p. 264.

this, several expedients for peace proving fruit-

‘ the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known  
 ‘ how he will find means either to maintain or begin a  
 ‘ war, without the help of his people. Several offers  
 ‘ have been made his majesty by particular men, to raise  
 ‘ both horse and foot at their own charge, and to bring  
 ‘ them to the rendezvous that the king shall appoint;  
 ‘ but they are not persons to be relied upon; or grant  
 ‘ the king could be certain of them, yet their number is  
 ‘ so small, that it makes them inconsiderable. In a  
 ‘ word, I fear the ways we run will not prevent the  
 ‘ mischiefs that threaten us (f).’—In another letter of (f) Stra-  
 the 29th of the same month, he again writes to the lord forde’s let-  
 deputy in these words: ‘ The military preparations that tern, vol. ii,  
 ‘ are here intended do make a great noise, but advance p. 267.  
 ‘ slowly: I have had the honour to be present at many  
 ‘ debates for the ordering this work, where I find so  
 ‘ much want of experience in those who manage this  
 ‘ business, and such regards to private ends, that I have  
 ‘ little hope to see any design prosper that may tend to  
 ‘ the publick good, honour, or safety of this land. Upon  
 ‘ the king’s declaration of his purpose to be at York before  
 ‘ Easter, it was thought fit that his majesty should be at-  
 ‘ tended with an army, consisting of twenty-four thou-  
 ‘ sand foot and six thousand horse. All the foot, and  
 ‘ half the proportion of horse, are to be raised out of  
 ‘ the trained bands; but not any of them to be taken  
 ‘ out of the northern counties: eight or ten of those  
 ‘ shires are to be exempted from these levies, and are to  
 ‘ be reserved for a second supply, if there shall be occa-  
 ‘ sion. Where the money for the maintaining of these  
 ‘ troops will be had, is yet known to very few. My lord  
 ‘ of Essex is removed from being general of the horse,  
 ‘ to be lieutenant-general of the army, and Holland  
 ‘ succeeds him in the charge of the horse: with this  
 ‘ change Essex is not at all pleased, and the marshal  
 ‘ [earl of Arundel] is so much unsatisfied, as it is thought  
 ‘ he will absolutely quit his command. This alteration  
 ‘ is said to be wrought by the queen, and that Hamilton  
 ‘ hath

fruitless, both sides made preparations for war.

(g) Strafford's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 276.

‘hath much assisted in it, whose credit and power with the king is thought to be much increased since his late employments into *Scotland*; which I doubt will be of some disadvantage to his majesty's affairs at this time, when the world shall take notice, that the means how to secure this state from the *Scots* invasion, is chiefly consulted with one of that nation (g).’

The money needful for paying the forces, and a fleet which his majesty equipped on this occasion, was raised out of his majesty's exchequer, and by the contributions of the clergy, the gentlemen of Doctors-Commons, the *English* Roman catholics, and others. The *Scots*, on notice of these preparations, took care to secure the most important fortresses in that kingdom, to raise forces, to get good officers of their own nation from abroad, with arms and ammunition.

In *March* 1639, the king went towards the North, to put himself at the head of his army, which marched towards the borders of *Scotland*. The covenanters, with general *Lesly* at their head, soon drew near him; and after looking at each other for some time, the *Scots* petitioned for a treaty, which ended in a pacification on the 18th of *June*. The chief articles agreed on were, ‘That as the king would not own their assembly at *Glasgow* [by which all the bishops stood excommunicated], so neither should the *Scots* be obliged to disown it. That there should be a full and free assembly holden at *Edinburgh* upon *August* the 12th, and a parliament *August* 26. That in the mean time both the armies should disband, all captive prisoners and places be restored to the owners, and mutual assurances from all damages. This was signed by the king, and his general and council; and the next day his general and the earl of *Holland* went to *Lesly*'s head-quarters, to see it signed by him and his council of war. On the 20th both the *Scottish* and *English* armies disbanded, and retired peaceably homeward (h).’

(h) Guthry, p. 50.

war. The king, determined to bring the *Scots* to a compliance, advanced with a good army towards the borders of their kingdom; and they, equally determined not to yield, raised forces to meet him. But no bloodshed ensued: a pacification was made, little to the honour of his majesty, which caused the dissolution of both armies.

How-

Thus, for the present, ended these troubles, weakly excited in the beginning, wrongly managed when broke out, and poorly, for his majesty's reputation, concluded. For with the force he had, allowed by all greatly superior to the *Scots*, to make such an end of the business, as in effect condemned his own actions, and justified the covenanters, was enough to make all men conclude, that he was deficient either in wisdom or courage. However, in excuse hereof, it must be owned, that the *English* cared not to fight against the *Scots* in this quarrel; that they were loath that they should be subdued, lest the yoke should be rivetted on their own necks; that the *English* commanders inclined towards their adversaries, and were solicitous for peace.

Let princes from hence be admonished to beware how they take part in the squabbles of ecclesiastics, or adopt their plans. Had *Charles* let things alone, the *Scots* would have given him no trouble. But, excited by *Laud*, he would make them change their religious rites for those he better approved: little considering that people are strongly attached to these, and more hardly induced to part with them, than the clear and indisputable commands of their Maker. By this conduct he involved himself in troubles, of which we have now seen the beginning; but which he might easily have avoided, if he had possessed more knowledge and less zeal. The still more fatal consequences will be soon seen.

However, peace was of a very short continuance; for *Charles* and the covenanters placing no confidence in each other (HHH),  
did

(HHH) *Charles and the covenanters placed no confidence in each other, &c.*] The treaty of pacification was made June 18, 1639: 'A treaty which no two who were present, says lord *Clarendon*, agreed in the same relation of what was said and done; and which was worse, not in the same interpretation of the meaning of what

(i) vol. i. p.  
323.

'was comprehended in writing (i).' No wonder then, it should be liable to misconstructions, misinterpretations, and different senses, the consequences of which, it was easy to foresee, would be a renewal of the troubles. His majesty, in his letter to *Wentworth*, dated *Berwick*, June 22, 1639, four days after the pacification was made, has the following words: 'There is a *Scotish* proverb, that bids you put two locks on your door, when you have made friends with a foe: so now, upon this pacification, I bid you to have a most careful eye upon the north of *Ireland*. Not that I think this caution is needful in respect of you, but to let you see I have a care of that kingdom, though I have too much trouble with these (k).' In

(k) *Strafforde's letters*, vol. ii. p. 361.

another letter of the 30th of the same month, from the same place, he tells him his opinion of his affairs. 'As for my affairs here, I am far from thinking, that at this time I shall get half of my will, though I mean, by the grace of God, to be in person both at the assembly and in parliament; for which I know many wise men blame me, and it may be you among the rest: and, I confess, not without many and considerable arguments, which I have neither time to repeat nor confute; only this believe me, nothing but my presence at this time in that country can save it from irreparable confusion: yet I will not be so vain, as absolutely to say that I can. Wherefore my conclusion is, that if I see a great probability, I go; otherwise not, but return to *London*, or take other counsels (l).—The lord deputy, in his answer of the 3d of *July* following, beseeches his majesty  
not

(l) *Id.* p.  
362.

did things which excited fears and jealousies mutual-

not only to keep the garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* strong, and well provided of all kind of stores, but to perfect the fortifications of *Leith*; and, if possible, put in a good power there also of men approved for their faith, and zeal for the service of the crown. ‘For so total a ‘defection, adds he, as hath appeared in that people, is ‘not to be trusted with your sacred person over-early, if ‘at all; and this the rather, for that I conceive your ‘designs and royal purposes thus sustained, will have ‘also an excellent furtherance, and operation amongst ‘your subjects in *England* (m).’ It appears, I think, pretty plainly from these passages, that *Charles* did not intend to deal sincerely by the *Scots*. All things, by the pacification, were to be referred to the assembly and parliament: thither his majesty determined to go, as thinking by his presence and influence to have got episcopacy established, and the ecclesiastical canons received; for this is what I suppose he means by saying, that nothing but his presence could save *Scotland* from irreparable confusion: if he found this was not to be done, he would return to *London*, or take other counsels. What these counsels were, the lord deputy’s letter gives us room to guess: the event confirms it.—But how secret soever *Charles*’s counsels were, it is not improbable the *Scots* understood them; and therefore they, on their part, acted so as to secure themselves against them.—Mr. *Butler*, in a letter to *Wentworth*, dated *Ellerton*, *July 3d*, 1639, writes, ‘I suppose your lordship hath long ere this heard ‘of an accord betwixt the king and his majestie’s subjects of *Scotland*, and have seen the conditions. By ‘their writing they pretend fair, and by their words ‘pretend as much subjection and loyalty to the king as ‘can be wished; but I pray God, when it comes to the ‘performance, they make it good. I hear, at this instant, they begin to make a very large (and, no doubt, ‘a very false) interpretation of that article for disbanding both their armies. They will needs have this extend to *Berwick* and *Newcastle*, and so have no garri-

(m) *Strafforde’s letters*, vol. ii.

mutually, which soon renewed the war.—

At

‘ sons kept there ; a thing not spoken of before our men  
 ‘ and arms were sent home, and the like in other things.  
 ‘ ’Tis true, they do restore unto his majesty those forts  
 ‘ and castles they had taken in *Scotland* : but, if it be as  
 ‘ I hear, they might as well keep them still ; for they  
 ‘ suffer the king to put into those places but what num-  
 ‘ ber of men they think good ; and this, in the common  
 ‘ acceptance, is accounted but juggling, to make good  
 ‘ their words only, neglecting the sense and substance of  
 ‘ them. The king is still at *Berwick*, and tho’ coaches  
 ‘ have been laid these four or five days by command, to  
 ‘ carry his majesty southward ; yet now for certain, I  
 ‘ hear, he intends to see *Edinburgh* before his return to  
 ‘ *London*. My lord of *Holland* came by within these  
 ‘ two days. Most of the lords and gentlemen had taken  
 ‘ leave ten days ago ; and, I dare say, they need not be  
 ‘ bidden to make haste home, after once they had their  
 ‘ dispatch : I did not think so gentle a potion could have  
 ‘ wrought so strongly as I see it did with many of them.  
 ‘ The king’s officers are sent for back again : the num-  
 ‘ ber with his majesty now at *Berwick*, I hear, is very  
 ‘ small : counsellors, only my lord Marshal, sir *Henry*  
 ‘ *Vane*, and Mr. secretary *Coke*. My lord, I will dis-  
 ‘ course no longer of this subject ; I wish we were not  
 ‘ over-witted by these smooth-tongued men. It was my  
 ‘ fortune to be at the camp at two of their days of meet-  
 ‘ ing, and afterwards heard a free liberal discourse of all  
 ‘ passages by some of the commissioners of both sides ;  
 ‘ and, to my understanding, methought we still gave  
 ‘ too much belief to their large promises. I was bold  
 ‘ to say to some of them, I would fain see something  
 ‘ done, that might testify them the same they had pro-  
 ‘ fessed (n).’—Lord *Wentworth*, who seems not to have  
 ‘ loved the *Scots*, and who knew himself mortally hated  
 ‘ by them, in a letter to the king, dated *Dublin-castle*, 22  
 ‘ *July*, 1639, expresses himself as follows : ‘ Of your  
 ‘ majesty’s resolution to go in person into *Scotland*, I  
 ‘ shall not presume to deliver my opinion ; yet I humbly  
 ‘ crave

(n) Straf-  
 forde’s let-  
 ters, vol. ii.  
 p. 364.



At first, indeed, things seemed to tend to a settle-

‘ crave leave to beseech your majesty to apply your own  
‘ excellent rule there also, which is, neither to believe  
‘ or expect farther than you see; and against all events  
‘ not only to secure your return, but by your providence  
‘ to foresee and prevent the being constrained upon the  
‘ place to comply with any thing which may in the least  
‘ press too hard upon your honour, or embolden either  
‘ those or other your subjects in the future; these three  
‘ principles being, in my weak judgment, to be granted :

‘ That it was the knowledge the covenanters had of  
‘ their own weakness, not their better affections, that  
‘ inclined them to seek an accommodation.

‘ That nothing is to be yielded there, which, by way  
‘ of precedent, may encourage those of *England* to pro-  
‘ test, or contest your royal commands, or the laws al-  
‘ ready established.

‘ That *England* and *Ireland* ministering to your sove-  
‘ reignty, as I am most confident, if rightly handled,  
‘ they will, there is abundantly in your power suddenly  
‘ and safely to conform the other to your will, in all just  
‘ things.’—He adds: ‘ I should humbly crave this let-  
‘ ter were burnt, not out of any aspect towards myself,  
‘ but much rather in regard I know not what conse-  
‘ quences it might produce, in case the faction find that  
‘ any such considerations have been humbly presented to  
‘ your majesty’s wisdom (o).’ The day before the date

of this letter, his majesty had written to the lord deputy,  
from *Berwick*, to come over to him for some time, to  
give him his counsel and attendance, for reasons which  
he thought not fit to express by letter. ‘ More than  
‘ this, adds he, the *Scots* covenant begins to spread too  
‘ far: yet for all this, I will not have you take notice  
‘ that I have sent for you; but pretend some other occa-  
‘ sion of business (p).

(o) Straf-  
forde’s let-  
ters and dis-  
patches, vol.  
ii. p. 372.

(p) Id.

Whilst *Charles* was in this disposition of mind, he gave  
instructions to the earl of *Traquair*, whom he appointed  
his high commissioner in *Scotland*. These instructions  
shew that *Charles* was full of tricks and evasions, and

settlement. For episcopacy was abolished, the  
canons

very far from that openness and honesty on which security alone can be founded. He allows him to consent to the abolishing of episcopacy; but bids him 'be careful that it be done without the appearing of any warrant from the bishops; and if any, says he, offer to appear for them, you are to enquire for their warrant; and carry the dispute so, as the conclusion seem not to be made in prejudice of episcopacy as unlawful, but only in satisfaction to the people for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of state.' And in the conclusion he orders him to protest, 'That in respect of his majesty's resolution of not coming in person, and that his instructions were upon short advertisement, whereupon many things might have occurred, in which he had not his majesty's pleasure; and for such other reasons as occasion might furnish, he was to protest, that in case any thing had escaped him, or had been considered upon in the assembly, prejudicial to his majesty's service, that his majesty might be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place (q).' These instructions are dated *Berwick, July 27, 1639*. And in his further instructions to *Traquair*, he assures him, he will not alter any thing in his instructions about episcopacy; that though he is content to discharge the service-book, the book of canons, the high commission, and the five articles of *Perth*; yet he will never give his assent that they be condemned as popish and superstitious, as illegal and contrary to the confession of faith. With regard to subscribing the covenant of 1580, 'you, says his majesty, must have an especial care of, that the bond be the same that was in our father's time, *mutatis mutandis*; and that you give your assent no other ways to the interpretations thereof, than may stand with our future intentions, well known to you; nor is the same otherwise to be ratified in parliament.' After this his majesty tells him, if things could not thus pass, he should prorogue the parliament to the next Spring. But by what follows it is plain, *Charles* had no expecta-

(q) Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 949.

canons and liturgy were laid aside, the high  
com-

expectations of success in the assembly or parliament, but that his designs were on the renewal of the war. ' And because, says he, it is not improbable that this way [of proroguing the parliament] may produce a present rupture, you are to warn and assist *Ruthven* for the defence of the castle of *Edinburgh*; and to take in general the like care of all our houses and forts in that kingdom; and likewise to advertise all such as are affected to our service, that timously they may secure themselves.'

The day after the date of these instructions the king took post at *Berwick*, and arrived at *London* the 1st of *August*.

*Charles* being thus returned, the assembly met at *Edinburgh*, and passed several acts, whereby all that had been doing for years was abolished, with the consent of *Traguir*, and the covenant ordered to be subscribed by all ranks and degrees. The parliament of *Scotland* also met, and were equally zealous in securing their civil, as the assembly had been with regard to their religious privileges. Let us hear lord *Northumberland's* representation of their behaviour. In a letter to lord *Leicester*, dated *London*, Oct. 17, 1639, he writes, ' The lord deputy [*Wentworth*] is called in to consult of the *Scotch* affairs, with the Archbishop and *Hamilton*. The insolencies and disorders of that nation are greater than ever they were. They will now admit of no third estate in parliament, but of the gentry: lords of the articles they will not allow of, nor will they suffer the king to make any officers of state, or judge, but of such as they shall nominate. When one of these places are voyde, they will present three names to the king, out of which he is to chuse one. If the king refuse these demands, and go about to break their parliament, I hear they are resolved to sit without his majestie's leave. I doe much apprehend the difficulty of finding means to maister these great affaires (r). ' However the king, displeased with what was done, and apprehensive that nothing bet-

(r) Sydney's papers, vol. ii. p. 614.

commission was declared to have no power,  
and

ter was to be hoped for, ordered *Traquair* to prorogue the parliament to the next year. This he did; but the *Scots* declared it was against their privileges, though, out of regard to his majesty, they complied with it. What followed is comprised in lord *Northumberland's* letter to lord *Leicester*, dated *London, Nov. 28, 1639.* 'The  
' *Scots* have submitted to the king's adjournment of their  
' parliament; but with such a protestation, or declara-  
' tion, as his majesty is not satisfied. The officers of  
' their army they still continue together at *Edinburgh*,  
' and likewise keep up their several tables, where they  
' often meete, and hold consultations for the ordering  
' their affaires, which shews they have no disposition to  
' obedience, except the king purchase their good-wills  
' at too deare a rate. *Traquair* came to this towne last  
' night: what he brings more than these generals, I  
' know not; but certain I am, that some of the principal  
' directors in these *Scotch* businesses think he hath much  
' disserved his majesty in this last assembly and parlia-

(s) Sydney's  
papers, vol.  
ii. p. 626.

ment (s). Upon *Traquair's* arrival, he gave an account to the council of what had passed in *Scotland*, who thereupon unanimously agreed, that it was necessary to reduce the *Scots* by force; and accordingly was resolved on. Thus *Charles* accomplished what he seemed to have been bent on from the treaty of pacification, the renewal of the war, which his friends thought he had very meanly and ignominiously ended, and by which, it is said, he discerned he had lost reputation at home and abroad (t). But it must be confessed, this renewal of it, in his circumstances, was still weaker, if possible, than what he had before done in these affairs. It had little foundation in justice or prudence; seeing it proceeded from resentment of the behaviour of the *Scotish* assembly and parliament, to which he had consented all things civil and ecclesiastical should be referred; and also from a desire to make that people submit to the use of words, the sound of which were harsh in their ears, and to a government in the church, which appeared in their eyes odious and abo-

(t) Clarendon, vol. i.  
p. 125.

and the articles of *Pertb* were no more to be subscribed. *Traquair*, his majesty's high commissioner, gave his assent to these things, in his name, though against his inclinations. But the parliament being disposed by its authority to confirm what the assembly had done, and likewise to secure for the future the civil and religious rights of their nation, was prorogued to the next year. This caused great uneasiness, and was followed by such actions as were displeasing to *Charles*, and furnished him with a pretence for renewing the war. In the mean while the *Scots* were admitted to send deputies to *London*, to justify their conduct. But what happened to the earl of *Loudon*, one of them, did not tend much to terminate the differences (III): for he was sent to the Tower by

abominable. 'Tis true, he had outwardly consented to the abolishing of those things which appeared grievous unto them: but his heart was set on the restoring them at the same time; for he assured the *Scotish* bishops, after the abovementioned instructions were given to *Traquair*, 'That it should be one of his chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair their losses (u).' In order to do (u) Russ. worth, vol. iii. p. 95. this was the train laid, in the manner now mentioned, for renewing the war, which could not be of the least consequence to the *English*, at whose expence it was to be waged, and which little contributed to *Charles's* own reputation.

(III) *What happened to the earl of Loudon—did not tend much to terminate the differences.*] After the prorogation of the *Scotish* parliament, it was resolved to 'make re-

by the king, and very narrowly escaped  
with

monstrances to his majesty, and that some of each state should remain at *Edinburgh* to attend his answer. Accordingly they sent the lord *Loudon* and another peer as their deputies to the king at *Whitehall*; but they coming without warrant from his majesty's commissioner, were commanded back without audience. After this, they sent another petition to his majesty, desiring permission to send some of their number for their own vindication; which his majesty granting, the lords *Loudon* and *Dumferling* were again sent up, who being commanded to attend a committee at an appointed time, resented the thing, and did not think themselves obliged to treat with any but the king only. Upon which his majesty vouchsafed his presence in the said committee, where the lord *Loudon* made a speech, declaring the independency of the crown of *Scotland*; and justified the transactions of the assembly and parliament, that they were according to the articles of pacification, and laws and customs of the nation: therefore they desired a ratification of their proceedings, and that the parliament might go on to determine of all bills for the settlement of peace. Having finished his speech, their commission was examined by the council, and found not at all obligatory to those that sent them: yet an imperfect paper was produced, authorizing *Loudon* and *Dumferling*, which was at length accepted. Yet they were soon checked; for after they had insisted upon their foresaid requests, their proceedings were summed up to them, and a letter produced by the king, that had been intercepted, wrote to the *French* king, indorsed *Au Roy*, a stile only used by subjects to their natural king, and subscribed by the lords *Roths*, *Montrose*, *Mar*, *Loudon*, and *Forrester*; in which they addressed to his majesty, as the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, most humbly beseeching him to give faith and credit to Mr. *Cotvil*, whom they had sent to represent the candour and ingenuity of their proceedings, and to assure themselves of an assistance  
sued

with his life. However, after some time  
he

‘ suited to his wonted clemency. This was found to be  
‘ the lord *Loudon*’s own hand, who being examined upon  
‘ it, refused to give any other answer, than that it was  
‘ wrote before the agreement, and thereupon reserved,  
‘ and never sent; that if he had committed any offence,  
‘ he ought to be questioned for it in *Scotland*, and not in  
‘ *England*: and insisting upon his safe-conduct, demanded  
‘ his liberty to return (*w*).’ But, notwithstanding all (*w*) *Craw-*  
this, *Loudon* was committed to the Tower. ‘ This was *furd’s lives*,  
‘ highly resented by the *Scotish* lords, as a violation of *p. 201.*  
‘ the law of nations, to meddle with any public mes-  
‘ senger: but the king judged no consideration could  
‘ warrant his subjects to commit treason, nor secure them  
‘ from trial and censure, when found guilty. There  
‘ were some ill instruments about the king, who advised  
‘ him to proceed capitally against *Loudon*, which is  
‘ believed went very far; but the marquis [of *Hamilton*]  
‘ opposed this vigorously, assuring the king, that if that  
‘ were done, *Scotland* was for ever lost (*x*).—How far (*x*) *Burnet’s*  
the advices of these ill instruments proceeded, *Burnet* *memoirs of*  
thought it not safe at that time to say plainly: but the *Hamilton,*  
particulars of it will appear from a memorandum, *p. 161.*  
‘ written by Dr. *White Kennet*, then bishop of *Peterbo-*  
‘ *rough*, in the blank leaf of his copy of these memoirs,  
‘ now in the possession of the Hon. Mr. *Charles Yorke* of  
‘ *Lincoln’s-Inn*.

‘ *Mem.* On *Thursday Feb. 5, 1718-19*, Mr. *Frazier*,  
‘ late secretary of *Chelsea-college*, paid me a visit, with  
‘ *John Chamberlayne*, Esq; and upon a discourse of *Scot-*  
‘ *land*, &c. told us this story, with very great assurance  
‘ of the truth of it: That soon after the publication of  
‘ this book [*Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*], he  
‘ was in the company of several *English* peers, when the  
‘ author, Mr. *Burnet*, was then present. One of the  
‘ noble peers charged him with having left out several  
‘ things, for fear of offending the court. Why, yes,  
‘ said Mr. *Burnet*, I could not put down every thing I  
‘ found in the papers committed to me, because some  
‘ things

he was released, and returned into *Scotland*.

But

things would not bear telling. The lord replied, Truth should be told. Yes, said Mr. *Burnet*; but if this be truth, what do ye think of its being fit to be told?

While the earl of *Loudon* lay prisoner in the Tower, king *Charles I.* in his passionate resentments against him, sent a warrant to sir *William Balfour*, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner for high treason the next morning. The lieutenant acquainted the earl of *Loudon* with the warrant he had received, and desired his opinion how to avoid the execution of it. The earl of *Loudon*, after a grievous complaint that he had been very unjustly committed to that prison, and was to have his life barbarously taken away, earnestly desired *Balfour* to go to the marquiss of *Hamilton*, and beg his advice and good offices in it. He went accordingly to court that evening, to find out the marquiss; but could not light upon him, till his majesty was gone to bed. The marquiss and the lieutenant came back to the chamber-door, and were much surprised to hear that the king was in bed. After some waiting and fretting, one told sir *William Balfour*, that, as lieutenant of the Tower, he had a privilege to knock at the king's chamber-door at any hour of the night, and so have admission to his majesty. Upon which encouragement, he did knock till he was heard by the groom of the bed-chamber, who asked, who was there? *Balfour* answered, the lieutenant of the Tower, upon business with the king. The king bade him let him in. He came, and fell on his knees at the bedside, and begged to know whether the warrant for the execution of *Loudon* was legally obtained from his majesty, and whether he could legally proceed in the execution of it? using some arguments and entreaties for the recalling, at least the suspending, of it. No, says the king, the warrant is mine, and you shall obey it. Upon which the marquiss of *Hamilton*, who had stood at the door, stepped up, and fell likewise on his knees before the



But the thoughts of war were not laid aside.

His

‘ the king, and begged, that he would not insist upon  
 ‘ such an extraordinary resolution. The king seemed  
 ‘ very peremptory in it; till the marquis, in a way of  
 ‘ taking leave, said to this effect: Well then, if your  
 ‘ majesty be so determined, I’ll go, and get ready to ride  
 ‘ post for *Scotland* to-morrow morning; for I am sure,  
 ‘ before night, the whole city will be in an uproar, and  
 ‘ they’ll come and pull your majesty out of your palace.  
 ‘ I’ll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen,  
 ‘ that I had no hand in it. The king was struck at this,  
 ‘ and bid the marquis call the lieutenant again; who  
 ‘ coming back to the bedside, the king said, Give me  
 ‘ the warrant; and taking it, tore it in pieces.

‘ Is this story now, said Mr. *Burnet*, fit to be told?  
 ‘ All the company stood amazed, and held up their  
 ‘ hands. Hearing this story, says Mr. *Frazier*, with  
 ‘ mine own ears, I once related it to the late duke of  
 ‘ *Hamilton*, who was killed in a duel; and his grace  
 ‘ said, that he had often run over the papers, from  
 ‘ which Dr. *Burnet* drew out his materials for this book,  
 ‘ and he had them now in his custody in *Scotland*; and  
 ‘ he well remembered, that there was such a relation  
 ‘ there given, and that he verily believed it to be  
 ‘ true (y).’ This memorandum I have given at large, (y) Appen-  
 that the reader may perceive the evidence on which the enquiry into  
 relation stands, and judge of it accordingly. The same Glamor-  
 fact is to be found in other writers (though Mr. *Hume* gan’s trans-  
 has thought proper wholly to overlook it), as may be actions, p.  
 seen in the margin (z). What must every impartial 15.  
 person now think of *Charles*? Where is his boasted jus- (z) *Craw-*  
 tice, clemency, or mercy? Where his regard to the laws furd’s lives,  
 of nations, the laws of *England*, of which he averred p. 201;  
 his great knowledge on his trial, or the common rights Ludlow’s  
 of humanity? Or where was even the policy of such a liar, p. 40,  
 cruel inhuman resolution? To order a nobleman, sent 4to. Lond.  
 by another kingdom to transact affairs, to be put to death 1692;  
 without form of law, or judgment given by those who Oldmixon’s  
 alone could have power to pass it, on a pretence most history of  
 frivolous, the Stuarts,  
 vol. i. p.  
 140.

His majesty chose a select number of his council to consult about the *Scotish* affairs. Of these *Strafforde*, *Hamilton*, and *Laud*, were most in credit with the king, and their advice chiefly relied on. The war was by them deemed necessary, as well as by *Charles*, who, after debate concerning the means of supporting it, concluded at length on calling a parliament (KKK), which accordingly was af-

frivolous, was little worthy of a man who pretended conscience on all occasions, and set himself up for the patron of religion. We may well suppose this action did not tend to conciliate the affections of the *Scotish* nation to his person and government.

(KKK) *Concluded at length on calling a parliament.*] Lord *Northumberland*, in a letter to the earl of *Leicester*, dated *London*, *Decemb.* 12, 1639, speaking concerning the committee for *Scotish* affairs, of which he was a member, tells him, ‘ This committee hath lately  
 ‘ had several meetings, to consider by what means the  
 ‘ rebellious *Scots* should be brought to obedience; for all  
 ‘ agreed, that it was unfit for the king to condescend to  
 ‘ their unreasonable demands. Two ways were only  
 ‘ thought on, for the raising of monyes, by the ordi-  
 ‘ nary way of parliament, or by extraordinary wayes of  
 ‘ power: the charge requisite for this work (to maintaine  
 ‘ an army of 30m. foote and 5m. horse) was computed  
 ‘ at a million of pounds a yeare. To perswade a parla-  
 ‘ ment to furnish the king presently with so much, was  
 ‘ conceived a very unlikely thing. The king’s renew,  
 ‘ upon examination, appeared to be so anticipated, as  
 ‘ little could be hoped for from thence; laying excises,  
 ‘ injoining each countie to maintaine a certaine number  
 ‘ of men whilst the warre lasted, and such like ways,  
 ‘ were by some far prest; but met with so many weightie  
 ‘ objections, that those lords, that were all this while  
 ‘ most

affsembled, but was of short duration: for his

‘ most averſe to parliaments, did now begin to adviſe the  
 ‘ king’s making triall of his people in parliament, be-  
 ‘ fore he uſed any way of power. This being adviſed  
 ‘ by their lordſhips (who, to ſay truth, found themſelves  
 ‘ ſo puſſeld, that they knew not where to begin), the  
 ‘ king was ſoon gained, and reſolved, the next council-  
 ‘ day, to propoſe it to the reſt of the lords, which ac-  
 ‘ cordingly was done; and though it came very unex-  
 ‘ pectedly to them, yet it paſſed without oppoſition.  
 ‘ The day appointed for the meeting of parliament is  
 ‘ the 13th of *April* next: a parliament in *Ireland* muſt  
 ‘ precede ours; and without the deputy be here, ſome  
 ‘ are of opinion, the king’s affairs cannot proſper. If,  
 ‘ in the meane tyme, the *Scotts* will not reſt ſatiſfied with  
 ‘ what the king did laſt yeare promiſſe them, by his ar-  
 ‘ ticles of pacification, ſyre and ſworde ſhall come  
 ‘ amongſt them. Such incendiaries are here amongſt  
 ‘ us, that, to ſpeake freely to your lordſhip, I do not ſee  
 ‘ how we ſhall poſſibly avoid falling into great misfor-  
 ‘ tunes. Before the king can have any ſupply from the  
 ‘ parliament, it is conceaved that he will have greate oc-  
 ‘ caſion for the imploying a good ſumme of money for  
 ‘ the ſtrengthning his northerne garrifons, and ſecuring  
 ‘ thoſe parts with ſome troupes, both of horſe and foote.  
 ‘ His own credite not ſerving for the taking up of theſe  
 ‘ moneyes, his majeſtie is forced to engage his counsell:  
 ‘ ſome of them undertake the furniſhing 10, ſome 20  
 ‘ thouſand pounds. The deputy is preſently returning  
 ‘ into *Ireland*, with a commiſſion to be liſtenant of that  
 ‘ kingdom (a).’

(a) Sydney’s  
 papers, vol.  
 ii. p. 623.

In the Lent following, *Wentworth*, now made earl of  
*Strafforde*, and lord lieutenant, returned into *Ireland*,  
 where he ſtaid about a fortnight; ‘ in which time he ſat  
 ‘ in parliament, had four ſubſidies given there; ap-  
 ‘ pointed a council of war, and gave orders to levy eight  
 ‘ thouſand foot in *Ireland*; which, together with two  
 ‘ thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, which was the  
 ‘ ſtanding army in *Ireland*, and five hundred horſe to be  
 ‘ joined

his majesty insisting on large supplies, before any

(b) Strafford's letters, vol. ii. p. 431.

‘ joined with them, were to be sent into *Scotland*, under his lordship's command (b). His own letters will best represent the hopes he gave *Charles*, and the confidence with which he inspired him. ‘ In a few words,’ says he, in his letter to the king, dated *Dublin, Good-Friday morning, 1640*, ‘ sir, your person and authority here is infinitely honoured and revered: this people, abundantly comforted and satisfied in your justice, set with exceeding great alacrity to serve the crown the right way in these doubtful times, and much trusting and believing us your majesty's poor ministers; all this in as high a measure as your own princely heart can wish. And if all this be not literally true, let the shame be mine, so wretchedly to have misinformed your majesty (c).’ And in a letter to secretary *Windebank*, dated *Ap. 4th*, of the same year, being on board the pinnace for his return to *England*, he has the same kind of expressions. ‘ I have left that people as fully satisfied, and as well affected to his majesty's person and service, as can possibly be wished for, notwithstanding the philosophy of some amongst you there in the court, who must needs have it believed, true or false, that that people are infinitely distasted with the present government, and hating of me; which error I can very easily remit unto them, considering that thereby the truth will be more clearly understood unto all, and in conclusion the shame fall upon themselves. I have also used all possible diligence in setting on the levies, and making all other provisions incident for the transportation of the eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, and ready they will be, I trust, by the midst of *July*, always provided that the conditions, mentioned in my former letters, be complied withall. And this I am able to assure his majesty, that I find that people as forward to venture their persons, as they have been to open their purses, and enlarge their engagements towards the instant occasion, infinitely disdaining his majesty should be so insolently proceeded with, and unworthily

‘ pro-

(c) Id. p. 402.

any of their numerous grievances were redressed;

‘ provoked by those covenanters : to which I will only  
 ‘ add thus much (if truth may be spoken without offence  
 ‘ to such as would have it thought to be otherwise), that  
 ‘ not only the standing officers and soldiers of that army,  
 ‘ but the *Irish* themselves also will go (to speak modest-  
 ‘ ly) as willingly and gladly, under my command, as of  
 ‘ any other *English* subject whatsoever (d).’ No doubt (d) Straff-  
 Charles was pleased with *Strafforde’s* success in *Ireland*, forde’s let-  
 and animated by these positive assurances of the affection ters, vol. ii.  
 and assistance to be relied on. Though the event p. 403.  
 plainly shewed that the lord lieutenant was imposed on  
 himself, or deceived his majesty, who had a very high  
 opinion of his abilities.

The parliament of *England* met on the 13th day of  
*April*, 1640; and his majesty assured them, that ‘ there  
 ‘ never was a king that had a more great and weighty  
 ‘ cause to call his people together, than himself.’—The  
 lord keeper was referred to by him for the particulars.  
 ’Tis well known this parliament was soon dissolved.  
 Charles wanted supplies for his *Scottish* expedition; the  
 house of commons insisted on a redress of their manifold  
 grievances. He being not then disposed to grant the one,  
 they were as little disposed to give him the other; though  
 they are represented as men well attached to the crown  
 both by lord *Clarendon* (e), and other historians.— (e) Vol. i.  
 The behaviour of *Charles* towards this parliament, *Bo-* p. 133, &c.  
*lingbroke* has well represented in the words following :

‘ That the civil war, which followed, might have been  
 ‘ prevented, appeared very manifestly in the temper and  
 ‘ proceedings of the parliament, which met in *April*  
 ‘ 1640, when all had been done, which could be done,  
 ‘ to destroy the constitution; for if the king had been  
 ‘ able to continue to govern without parliaments, the  
 ‘ constitution had been destroyed: and when calling  
 ‘ a parliament was visibly the effect of necessity and fear,  
 ‘ not choice, the parliament, which was called, shewed  
 ‘ wonderful order and sobriety in their whole behaviour.  
 ‘ If some passion had appeared in their debates, it might

‘ have

‘dressed; and they not immediately granting  
his

‘ have been well excused in an house of commons, as-  
‘ sembled at such a time; and yet scarce an angry word  
‘ was thrown out. The few, that escaped from some,  
‘ were either silently disliked, or openly disapproved.  
‘ The king, even in this crisis of affairs, preserved the  
‘ same carriage he had formerly used towards them, and  
‘ shewed too plainly that he regarded them only as tax-  
‘ layers. In a word, in about a month after their meet-  
‘ ing, he dissolved them; and as soon as he had dissolved  
‘ them, he repented, but he repented too late, of his  
‘ rashness. Well might he repent; for the vessel was  
‘ now full, and this last drop made the waters of bitter-  
‘ ness overflow (f). A message to the house of com-  
‘ mons by sir *Henry Vane* the elder, secretary of state and  
‘ treasurer of the household, on the 4th of *May*, will best  
‘ explain this carriage, which his lordship refers to it. It  
‘ is in the following words.—‘ Whereas, upon *Saturday*  
‘ last, his majesty was pleased to send a message to this  
‘ house, desiring you to give a present answer concern-  
‘ ing his supply; to which his majesty hath yet no other  
‘ answer, but that upon this day you will again take it into  
‘ further consideration: therefore his majesty (the better  
‘ to facilitate your resolutions) this day hath thought fit  
‘ to let you know, that of his grace and favour he is  
‘ pleased, upon your granting twelve subsidies to be pre-  
‘ sently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a pro-  
‘ viso, that it shall not determine the sessions, his ma-  
‘ jesty will not only, for the present, forbear the levying  
‘ of any ship-money, but will give way to the utter  
‘ abolishing of it, by any course that yourselves shall like  
‘ best. And for your grievances, his majesty will (ac-  
‘ cording to his royal promise) give you as much time as  
‘ may be now, and the next *Michaelmas*; and he expects  
‘ a present and positive answer, upon which he may rely,  
‘ his affairs being in such a condition as can endure no  
‘ longer delay. Hereupon the house was turned into a  
‘ grand committee, and spent the whole day till six at  
‘ night in debate of this message; but came to no reso-  
‘ lution,

(f) Craftf-  
man, vol.  
vii. p. 394.

his demand, but deliberating thereon, he in great haste dissolved them: to the dissatisfaction of his friends and the joy of his adversaries. Whereupon, being still bent on carrying on the war, he had recourse to his usual methods of supplying himself by the prerogative. No sooner was the parliament dissolved, but some members of the house of commons were summoned before the council (LLL), on account of what had passed there; and, not answering to his majesty's satisfaction, were imprisoned. Ship-money now

lution, and desired sir *Henry Vane* to acquaint his majesty, that they intended the next day to proceed in the further consideration thereof (g). But on the next day (the king being enraged at their not immediately complying), as I have before observed, they were dissolved in an angry manner; his majesty telling the lords, 'That it had been the malicious cunning of some few sedtiously affected men [in the house of commons], that had been the cause of the misunderstanding (h).'  
 Thus if the king had great and weighty cause to call together this parliament, for a very small, or rather no cause, did he part from it; 'for, says *Clarendon*, no man could imagine what offence the commons had given, which put the king upon that resolution (i). But *Charles* was wont to act rashly and precipitately, to come suddenly and hastily to a resolution, and as suddenly to repent of it. His end, indeed, he kept steadily in view; but the means to accomplish it were, for the most part, ill-judged, and ill-conducted. No wonder, therefore, he was unhappy!

(LLL) Some members of the house of commons were summoned before the council, and—imprisoned.] *Charles* had a very high opinion of the regal power, and a very contemptible

now was exacted with great rigour; and  
such

temptible one of the power of parliaments. This has been proved in the notes (zz) (AAA). Here follows still farther proof of it, as well as of his violating the privileges of the members of that most illustrious body. Soon after the parliament was dissolved, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, of the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament. In this declaration he treats with great severity of language his former parliaments; shews the end he had in view in calling this last, even the raising money to support the army to be raised against the *Scots*; his willingness to have redressed their grievances, even before they had given him a supply, if the great necessity of his occasions would have permitted; the neglect of the commons to give him content, notwithstanding they were pressed to do it by himself and the lords, and that he had declared he would afterwards redress their grievances: I say, after having set forth these things, he observes, ‘ Those ill-affected members of the house of commons, instead of an humble and dutiful way of presenting their grievances to his majesty, have taken upon them to be the guiders and directors in all matters that concern his majesty’s government, both temporal and ecclesiastical: and (as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions, and of their manner of government, to their subjects assembled in parliament) they have, in a very audacious and insolent way, entered into examination and censuring of the present government, traduced his majesty’s administration of justice, rendered, as much as in them lay, odious to the rest of his majesty’s subjects, not only the officers and ministers of state, but even his majesty’s very government, which hath been so just and gracious, that never did this or any other nation enjoy more blessings and happiness, than hath been by all his majesty’s subjects enjoyed, ever since his majesty’s access to the crown: nor did this kingdom ever so flourish in trade and commerce as at this present, or partake of more peace and  
‘ plenty



such sheriffs as were negligent in executing the

‘ plenty in all kinds whatsoever.’—Having thus vented his resentment against those members that offended him in parliament, and praised his own government, he ‘ permits his loving subjects freely to address themselves by their humble petitions to his sacred majesty, if they have any just cause to complain of any grievances or oppressions, who will graciously hear their complaints, and give such fitting redress therein, that all his people shall have just cause to acknowledge his grace and goodness towards them; and to be fully satisfied, that no persons or assemblies can more prevail with his majesty, than the piety and justice of his own royal nature, and the tender affection he doth and shall ever bear to all his people and loving subjects (k).’—Were a man disposed to be severe on the memory of *Charles*, this declaration would afford him abundant matter for it. To hear a government extolled as just and gracious; a nation declared to have enjoyed so great happiness, when all steps had been taken to enslave it, and all orders and degrees of men had experienced the intolerable rigour and severity of the administration; must fill one with indignation against such as attempt so grossly to impose on mankind. (k) Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1166.

Lord *Clarendon*, though he has spoken of *Charles*’s oppressions, or those of his ministers, in strong and just terms many times, yet, after all, avers, agreeably to this declaration, ‘ That during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run—which was above twelve years, this kingdom, and all his majesty’s dominions, enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with (l).’ One would think his lordship, as well as the compiler of his majesty’s declaration, imagined that their readers were all destitute of common sense, or totally ignorant of *Charles*’s government. For a man of a tolerable knowledge in the history, and a tolerable capacity, must draw very different

(l) Vol. i. p. 74.

the writs for raising it, were ordered to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

### Knight-

ferent conclusions from the facts recited in the foregoing notes.

Let us now go on with the history.—‘ The day following the dissolution of this parliament, some members were imprisoned: the lord *Brooks* his study, cabinets, and pockets were searched for papers; *Henry Belasis*, knight of the shire for the county of *York*, and sir *John Hotham*, were convened before the council, and there examined concerning some particulars importing the king’s service, whereunto they making (as the board conceived) no satisfactory answers (for they were interrogated concerning passages in parliament, his majesty being present in council), were ordered to be committed to the Fleet.—*John Crew*, esq; was also convened before the board, his majesty being present in council, and was there desired by his majesty to deliver to the clerk of the house of commons all petitions, papers, and complaints that he had received, being in the chair at the committee for religion. But he desired, for some reasons, to be excused as to the delivery of them; whereupon it was commanded that he should be committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he continued till near the time of the meeting of another parliament, *Nov. 3, 1640 (m).*’ These were likely methods to conciliate the affections of the *English* nation to this prince indeed! These were prudent measures! well-timed severities! which must be of great service when *Scotland* was in arms, and his majesty destitute of the means of resisting them! But he imagined there was magic in the name of KING, which gave him the liberty of doing as he pleased, and the power of bending all to his will. However, he soon found himself mistaken.—Lord *Clarendon* tells us, ‘ That the king, when he had better reflected on what was like to fall out, and was better informed of the temper and duty of the house of commons—was heartily sorry for what he had done:—and, he says, he consulted the same day, or the

(m) Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1167.

Knighthood-money was set on foot, and the citizens of *London* invited to a loan. But they generally refused, being discontented at the present proceedings, as well as angry on account of their treatment about *London-derry*,

‘ next, whether he might by his proclamation recall ‘ them to meet together again (*n*).’ *Bolingbroke*, in the (*n*) Vol. i. passage quoted in the foregoing note, speaks also of his P. 140. speedy repentance for this dissolution. But how to reconcile this with the known facts of *Charles*’s publishing the above-quoted declaration, so highly injurious unto them, and his treatment of some of the members, is beyond, I think, every ordinary capacity.—I shall conclude this note with observing, that *Charles*’s whole conduct at this time was void of prudence and policy. Divers aldermen of *London* were sent for to the council-table, to give in the names of such citizens as were able to lend the king money; which they refusing to do, were committed to prison (*o*). The lord mayor and sheriffs of (*o*) *London* were ordered to be proceeded against in the Star-chamber, for neglect in raising ship-money; as were the sheriffs of other counties (*p*). The refusers of coat and conduct money were ordered to be brought up to *London* (*q*). The money in the mint, belonging to private persons, was seized by the king, and released not till the owners thereof lent him 40000*l*. and a project was set on foot for coining 2 or 300,000*l*. of copper money, which should be mixed with a 4th part of silver (*r*), tho’ it took not effect, as I can remember: and all the pepper the merchants had in store, lying under the Old Exchange, amounting to a great sum, was bought up by the king on credit, and immediately sold again at a considerable undervalue (*s*). By these and other such measures did his majesty strengthen himself against the *Scots*, as he thought. But they, more sharp-sighted, were pleased with his proceedings, as well knowing those who were obliged and ill-treated by him, would never willingly forward his success against them.

(*o*) Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1181.

(*p*) Id. p. 1173, 1203.

(*q*) Id. p. 1202.

(*r*) Sydney’s papers, vol. ii. p. 659.

(*s*) Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1216.

derry, of which I have formerly spoken. However little, comparatively, was produced, except by the clergy, nobility, and gentry belonging to the court: these indeed contributed liberally. But though a royal army was raised, and the king in person commanded it, yet its success was but very indifferent: for the soldiers went most unwillingly to the war (MMM), and therefore be-

(MMM) *The soldiers went most unwillingly to the war, &c.*] The king might have judged something of the temper of the *English* by his first expedition against the *Scots*; but he seems not to have known it, or little to have valued it. He got together an army indeed, of which the earl of *Northumberland* was appointed general (but he falling sick, the earl of *Strafforde* had the command, under the title of lieutenant-general), and the lord *Conway* general of the horse. 'But in the expedition of the king's army towards the North, it was a 'marvellous thing to observe, in divers places, the averfeness of the common soldiers from this warre. Though 'commanders and gentlemen of great quality, in pure 'obedience to the king, seemed not at all to dispute the 'cause or consequence of this warre, the common soldiers would not be satisfied, questioning in a mutinous 'manner, whether their captains were papists or not; 'and in many places were not appeased till they saw 'them receive the sacrament; laying violent hands on 'divers of their commanders, and killing some, uttering in bold speeches their distaste of the cause, to the 'astonishment of many, that common people should be 'sensible of publicke interest and religion, when lords 'and gentlemen seemed not to be (t).'  
'Nothing, 'says *Whitlock*, could alter the opinion and humour of 'divers of the officers and soldiers of his [*Charles's*] 'army, who, in their march to their rendezvous, spared 'not to declare their judgments against this war; and 'that

(t) May's  
parliamentary history,  
p. 64.

behaved not bravely in it. For, after some dif-

‘ that they would not fight to maintain the pride and  
 ‘ power of the bishops; and this their resolution seemed  
 ‘ not to be feigned, by the ill success afterwards (u).’ <sup>(u) Whit-</sup>  
 Lord Clarendon seems to own the fact also in the follow-  
 ing passage, though, after his manner, he has glossed and  
 disguised it. ‘ The earl of *Strafforde* found the army  
 ‘ about *Durham*, bringing with him a body much broken  
 ‘ with his late sickness, which was not clearly shaken  
 ‘ off, and a mind and temper confessing the dregs of it,  
 ‘ which being marvellously provoked and inflamed with  
 ‘ indignation at the late dishonour [at *Newburn*], ren-  
 ‘ dered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make  
 ‘ himself so to the officers, upon his first entrance into  
 ‘ his charge: it may be, in that mass of disorder, not  
 ‘ quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was  
 ‘ justly due. But those who by this time, no doubt,  
 ‘ were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity  
 ‘ to incense the army against him; and so far prevailed  
 ‘ in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against  
 ‘ him, than against the enemy; and was willing to have  
 ‘ their want of courage imputed to an excess of con-  
 ‘ science, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds  
 ‘ of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no  
 ‘ better (w).’ I shall not here enter into the particulars (w) Vol. i.  
 of this second expedition against the *Scots*. Our com- P. 145. See  
 mon histories will satisfy the curiosity of the reader. I also Mon-  
 will only observe, that the event was such as might teth’s histo-  
 have been expected from an army averse to the cause ry of the  
 in which it was engaged. For, in an encounter, troubles of  
 the *English* under the command of lord *Conway* fled; Great Bri-  
 some of his most gallant officers were taken prisoners; tain, p. 59.  
*Newcastle* and *Durham* were garrisoned by the *Scots*; and fol. Lond.  
 the ships laden with corn for his majesty’s army, were 1738.  
 seized by them.—The king now found himself in a bad  
 condition. A considerable number of noblemen peti-  
 tioned him to summon a parliament, whereby the causes  
 of the grievances of the *English* nation might be taken  
 away; the city of *London* did the same: the great council  
 of

dispute, *Conway* gave way; and the *Scots* entered *England*, and took possession of *Newcastle*. The great council, upon this, was summoned to meet at *York*; to whom his majesty declared his resolution to call a parliament to sit the *Novemlber* following, which  
accord-

of peers, assembled for advice by his majesty at *York*, were for a treaty with the *Scots*, which issued at length in an agreement; by which a cessation of arms was concluded, and a contribution of 850*l.* *per diem* for the *Scots* army was granted.

‘Many wondered, and some inveighed against this treaty, wishing the king would have put it rather to the issue of a battle, than to have given such terms to his subjects in rebellion; and of this judgment was *Strafford*, and the episcopal party. But the other part cried up this treaty as just, honourable, and pious, to prevent effusion of blood, and to settle peace; and the king saw plainly, that both, divers officers of his army, and even the private soldiers generally (which was a remarkable inclination), had no mind to fight against the *Scots*, which chiefly caused the king to conclude this treaty (x).’—What followed will be soon seen.

(x) Whitlock, p. 37.

But no man, from what has yet appeared, can help wondering at the conduct of this unhappy monarch. His resolution we see failed him, his hopes vanished, and he found himself unable any longer to rule by his will. All his actions tended hitherto to irritate and provoke the *English*; (who yet he expected should spend their blood and treasures in his idle quarrels about a liturgy and church-government.) Nothing that was pleasing was attempted by him; and therefore with great joy did they see the *Scots* advance, and looked on them as their deliverers: for without them, probably, the *English* had been enslaved. For this reason they were well treated by the next parliament, and sent home with store of *English* money and spoils (y).

(y) Id. p. 47.

(NNN)

accordingly he did. How far choice and inclination concurred with the advice of others (NNN,) and the necessity of his affairs, may be a question.

But

(NNN) *How far choice and inclination concurred with the advice of others, &c.*] We have frequently had occasion to observe the manner in which *Charles* spoke to his parliaments, and his treatment of them. Indeed he seldom kept them long together, and always parted with them in anger. One may well enough therefore conclude, that he was not much enamoured of parliaments, or desirous of calling them. But yet his majesty, in the *Icon Basiliæ*, is made to speak as follows. ‘ This

‘ last parliament [of November 1640] I called not more  
‘ by others advice, and necessity of my affairs, than by  
‘ my own choice and inclination; who have always  
‘ thought the right way of parliaments most safe for my  
‘ crown, as best pleasing to my people. And although  
‘ I was not forgetful of those sparks which some men’s  
‘ distempers formerly studied to kindle in parliaments  
‘ (which, by forbearing to convene for some years, I  
‘ hoped to have extinguished); yet resolving with myself  
‘ to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires,  
‘ and to redress all public grievances in church and state,  
‘ I hoped (by my freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: in  
‘ which as I feared affaires would meet with some passion  
‘ and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should  
‘ find least of them in myself; not doubting but by the  
‘ weight of reason, I should counterpoise the over-  
‘ balancings of any factions (z).’ This has an air of

great moderation. But as it happened not to tally with some facts in the foregoing notes recited, it gave occasion to *Milton* to speak in the following manner. ‘ That

‘ which the king lays down here as his first foundation,  
‘ and as it were the headstone of the whole structure,  
‘ that he “ called this last parliament not more by others  
“ advice, and the necessity of his affairs, than by his  
“ own

(z) King  
Charles’s  
works, p.  
647.

But however this be, the parliament, which met *November 3, 1640*, soon gave his

“ own choice and inclination ;” is to all knowing men  
 “ so apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inau-  
 “ spicious sentence, and more betokening the downfall  
 “ of his whole fabrick, hardly could have come into his  
 “ mind. For who knows not that the inclination of a  
 “ prince is best known either by those next about him,  
 “ and most in favour with him, or by the current of his  
 “ own actions ? Those nearest to this king, and most his  
 “ favourites, were courtiers and prelates ; men whose  
 “ chief study was to find out which way the king in-  
 “ clined, and to imitate him exactly : how these men  
 “ stood affected to parliaments, cannot be forgotten.  
 “ No man but may remember, it was their continual  
 “ exercise to dispute and preach against them ; and in  
 “ their common discourse nothing was more frequent,  
 “ than that “ they hoped the king should have now no  
 “ need of parliaments any more.” And this was but  
 “ the copy which his parasites had industriously taken  
 “ from his own words and actions, who never called  
 “ a parliament but to supply his necessities ; and having  
 “ supplied those, as suddenly and ignominiously dissolved  
 “ it, without redressing any one grievance of the people :  
 “ sometimes chusing rather to miss of his subsidies, or to  
 “ raise them by illegal courses, than that the people  
 “ should not still miss of their hopes to be relieved by  
 “ parliaments.”—After enumerating *Charles’s* treatment  
 of his former parliaments, he adds, ‘ Much less there-  
 “ fore did he call this parliament by his own choice and  
 “ inclination ; but having first tried in vain all undue  
 “ ways to procure money, his army of their own ac-  
 “ cord being beaten in the North, the lords petitioning,  
 “ and the general voice of the people almost hissing him,  
 “ and his ill-acted regality off the stage, compelled at  
 “ length both by his wants and by his fears, upon mere  
 “ extremity he summoned this last parliament. And how  
 “ is it possible that he should willingly incline to parlia-  
 “ ments, who never was perceived to call them but for  
 “ the



his majesty great uneasiness; for he found all

the greedy hope of a whole national bribe, his subsidies; and never loved, never fulfilled, never promoted the true ends of parliaments, the redress of grievances; but still put them off, and prolonged them, whether gratified, or not gratified; and was, indeed, the author of all those grievances? To say therefore that he called this parliament out of his own choice and inclination, argues how little truth we can expect from the sequel of this book, which ventures, in the very first period, to affront more than one nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit faith in the people of *England*, than the pope ever commanded from the *Romish* laity; or else a natural sottishness fit to be abused and ridden (a).'

(a) Milton's  
prose works,  
vol. i. p.  
405.

The following quotations from *Clarendon*, with what I shall afterwards add, will fully determine which of these authors is in the right.—'When the lords came to *York*, at the great council in *September*, and the first day of their meeting (that the counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolved to give it, and that the queen might receive the honour of it; who, the king said, had by letter advised him to it; as his majesty exceedingly desired to endear her to the people) the king declared to them, that he was resolved to call a parliament (b).—And again: 'The king was in very great straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to choose which way he would go; and well foresaw that a parliament, in that conjuncture of affairs, would not apply natural and proper remedies to the disease: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courses it afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contained within any modest bounds), and therefore no question his majesty did not think of calling a parliament at first, but was wrought to it by degrees (c).'

(b) Vol. i.  
p. 154.

(c) Id. p.  
161.

Much choice and inclination seem not here to be intimated. What was his real opinion of parliaments will appear

all the illegal powers exercised from the beginning of his reign, condemned in it; and acts were passed, prohibiting them expressly for the future. These things *Charles* could make no resistance against, they being required by the nation, and approved by his best friends. But with difficulty did he give up *Strafforde* to the block (ooo), tho' hateful

(d) *Strafforde's letters*, vol. i. p. 233.

appear best from the following passages.—In a letter to the lord deputy *Wentworth*, dated *London*, *Ap.* 17, 1634, speaking of the *Irish* parliament, he says, 'As for that hydra, take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious (d).' In another letter, dated *London*, 22 *Jan.* 1634, he gives his opinion, for dissolving the *Irish* parliament, to the same nobleman, and supports it in the following manner. 'For the first [the not continuing the parliament], my reasons are grounded upon my experience of them here: they are of the nature of cats, they ever grow curst with age; so that if you will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age; for young ones are ever most tractable: and in earnest you will find, that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new, than the well-ending of the former parliament; wherefore now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith (e).' This does not look as if *Charles* always thought the right way of parliaments most safe for his crown, as best pleasing to the people.' We may conclude therefore, that the mind of *Charles* is not, in this instance, truly represented in his pourtraiture. I shall only add, that our modern politicians form a very different judgment from what is just now given, concerning the danger of long parliaments.

(e) *Id.* p. 365.

(ooo). *But with difficulty did he give up Strafforde to the block, &c.*] Those who are unacquainted with the character of this nobleman, must be little conversant in the history of *Charles*.—Born to an ample fortune, he made

made soon a figure in life. In the beginning of this reign he opposed the measures of the court, and with many brave and worthy men suffered for so doing. His temper, however, was not so much soured thereby as to dispose him to hearken to the proposals made him from his majesty. He accepted of them, and soon became, by means of *Laud*, to whom he closely adhered, a favourite and prime counsellor. Those who would know him thoroughly, need only read his letters and dispatches, and his trial. From these will appear his great abilities, and unwearied industry; as also the rigorous measures which he recommended and pursued, whereby he disgusted the *English*, provoked the *Scots*, and irritated many *Irish* against him. Scarce had the parliament sat, before the commons impeached him. Upon this he was taken into custody, committed to the Tower, and brought to a most solemn trial before his peers, the king and queen incognito attending. During his trial he received the following letter from his majesty, dated *Whythall, Ap. 23, 1641.*

‘ *Strafford,*

‘ The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange  
‘ mistaking and conjunction of these tymes, being such  
‘ that I must lay by the thought of imploying you here-  
‘ after in my affaires, yet I cannot satisfie in honnor or  
‘ conscience, without assuring you (now in the midst  
‘ of your troubles) that upon the word of a king, you  
‘ shall not suffer in lyfe, hounor, or fortune: this is but  
‘ justice, and therefore a verie meane rewarde from a  
‘ maister, to so faithful and able a servant, as you have  
‘ showed yourself to bee; yet it is as much as I conceive  
‘ the present tymes will permitt, though none shall hin-  
‘ der me from being

‘ Your constant faithful frend,

‘ CHARLES R. (f) (f) *Straf-*

This letter no doubt gave great satisfaction to the lord  
lieutenant, of whose behaviour on his trial, Mr. *Whit-*  
*lock,*

*forde's let-*  
*ters, vol. ii.*  
*p. 416.*

on account of the severity of his maxims  
and

(g) Whit-  
lock, p. 44.

lock, a manager against him, thus speaks: 'Certainly  
' never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre,  
' with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with  
' greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a bet-  
' ter grace in all his words and gestures, than this great  
' and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of  
' all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and  
' pity (g).' But notwithstanding this behaviour, and  
some doubt arising whether the charge against him was  
treason, a bill was brought into the house of commons  
to attain him of high treason; which after warm debates  
passed, and was sent up to the house of lords. Here-  
upon, on the 1st of *May*, 1641, 'the king called both  
' houses of parliament together, and did passionately de-  
' fire of them not to proceed severely against the earl,  
' whom he answered for, as to most of the main parti-  
' culars of the charge against him; tells them, that in  
' conscience he cannot condemn the earl of high treason,  
' and that neither fear nor any other respect should make  
' him go against his conscience. But for misdemeanors,  
' he is so clear in them, that he thinks the earl not fit  
' hereafter to serve him, or the commonwealth, in any  
' place of trust, no not so much as a constable (b).' The bill of attainder however passed the house of lords,  
and was tendered to his majesty for his royal assent.  
' The king being much perplexed upon the tendering of  
' these two bills [for *Strafforde's* attainder, and the bill  
' for continuing the parliament] to him, between the  
' clamours of a discontented people, and an unsatisfied  
' conscience; he took advice (as some reported) of  
' several of the bishops, and of others his intimate coun-  
' sellours, what to do in this intricate affair: and that  
' the major part of them urged to him the opinion of  
' the judges, That this was treason, and the bill legal.  
' They pressed likewise the votes of the parliament,  
' That he was but one man, that no other expedient  
' could be found out to appease the enraged people, and  
' that the consequences of a furious multitude would be  
' very

(b) Id. p.  
45; and  
King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
172.

and government: for he looked on him as  
an

“ very terrible. Upon all which they perswaded him to  
“ pass the bills. But the chief motive was said to be,  
“ a letter of the earl of *Strafford*, then sent unto him,  
“ wherein the gallant earl takes notice of these things,  
“ and what is best for his majesty in these straits, and to  
“ set his conscience at liberty: he doth most humbly be-  
“ seech him, for prevention of such mischiefs as may  
“ happen by his refusal, to pass the bill, to remove him  
“ out of the way, towards that blessed agreement which  
“ God (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt you and  
“ your subjects. “ Sir, my consent herein shall more  
“ acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides:  
“ to a willing man there is no injury done.”

“ If not base betraying of their master by these pas-  
“ sages, and by some private dealings, the king was per-  
“ swaded to sign a commission to three lords, to pass these  
“ two bills; and that he should ever be brought to it,  
“ was admired by most of his subjects, as well as by  
“ foreigners.

“ Himself ingenuously acknowledgeth the grounds of  
“ doing this, and his error therein, in his excellent *Eikon*  
“ *Basil.* chap. 5.

“ After he had signed these bills, the king sent secre-  
“ tary *Carleton* to the earl, to acquaint him what was  
“ done, and the motives of it, especially the earl’s con-  
“ sent; who seriously asked the secretary, whether his  
“ majesty had passed the bill or not? as not believing,  
“ without some astonishment, that the king would have  
“ done it. And being again assured that it was passed,  
“ he rose up from his chair, lift up his eyes to heaven,  
“ laid his hand on his heart, and said, “ Put not your  
“ trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them  
“ there is no salvation.”—Certainly he [*Charles*] had  
“ great remorse thereupon; and the next day, *May* 11,  
“ he sent a letter by the prince to the lords, written all  
“ with his own hand, That they would confer with the  
“ house of commons to spare the life of the earl, and  
“ that would be a high contentment to him. Some did

an able and faithful minister, who had  
con-

(i) Whit-  
lock, p. 45.

‘ not stick to say, that this was promised to him, before  
‘ he signed the bill of attainder, and to bring him to it.  
‘ But now the lords house did not think fit to consent to  
‘ his majestie’s desire herein (i).’ The earl therefore  
was obliged to submit to the fatal stroke on the scaffold  
on Tower-hill, May 12, 1641, which he did with very  
great resolution. A passage from *Burnet* must be added,  
to make this account of *Charles’s* behaviour towards  
*Strafforde* compleat. It was told him by lord *Hollis*.

‘ The earl of *Strafforde* had married his sister; so  
‘ though in the parliament he was one of the hottest  
‘ men of the party, yet when that matter was before  
‘ them, he always withdrew. When the bill of at-  
‘ tainder was passed, the king sent for him to know what  
‘ he could do to save the earl of *Strafforde*. *Hollis* an-  
‘ swered, that if the king pleased, since the execution  
‘ of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a  
‘ reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would  
‘ not advise it. That which he proposed was, that lord  
‘ *Strafforde* should send him a petition for a short respite,  
‘ to settle his affairs, and prepare for death; upon which  
‘ he advised the king to come next day with the petition  
‘ in his hands, and to lay it before the two houses, with  
‘ a speech which he drew for the king; and *Hollis* said  
‘ to him, he would try his interest among his friends to  
‘ get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many,  
‘ by assuring them, that if they would save lord *Straf-*  
‘ *forde*, he would become wholly theirs, in consequence  
‘ of his first principles: and that he might do them  
‘ much more service by being preserved, than he could  
‘ do if made an example, upon such new and doubtful  
‘ points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he  
‘ believed, if the king’s party had struck into it, he  
‘ might have saved him. It was carried to the queen,  
‘ as if *Hollis* had engaged that the earl of *Strafforde*  
‘ should accuse her, and discover all he knew: so the  
‘ queen not only diverted the king from going to the  
‘ parliament, changing the speech into a message, all  
‘ written

consulted his honor and interest, and, tho'  
guilty

written with his own hand, and sent to the house of lords  
 by the prince of *Wales* [which *Hollis* said would perhaps  
 have done as well, the king being apt to spoil things  
 by an unacceptable manner]; but, to the wonder of  
 the whole world, the queen prevailed with him to add  
 that mean postscript, "If he must die, it were charity  
 to reprieve him till *Saturday*:" which was a very un-  
 handsome giving up of the whole message. When it  
 was communicated to both houses, the whole court-  
 party was plainly against it; and so he fell truly by the  
 queen's means (*k*). Mr. *Whitlock*, in the passage (*k*) Burnet,  
 above quoted, refers to the *Icon Basilike* for the grounds vol. i. p.  
 of *Charles's* passing this bill of attainder, and his error 44; and K.  
 therein. Let us see what is there said.—"I never met Charles's  
 with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in works, p.  
 the business of that unfortunate earl; when, between 138.  
 my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessity  
 (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of  
 some people, I was persuaded by those that I think  
 wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than  
 what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my  
 kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of  
 conscience before God (*l*). *Charles* never got over (*l*) King  
 the uneasiness his consent to lord *Strafforde's* death gave Charles's  
 him; for on the scaffold he pronounced the following works, p.  
 words.—"God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, 649.  
 as not to say that God's judgments are just upon me;  
 many times he doth pay justice by an unjust sentence;  
 that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust  
 sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished now  
 by an unjust sentence upon me (*m*). *Milton* certainly (*m*) Id. p.  
 is blameable then in insulting over *Charles*, for expressing 208.  
 his sorrow for consenting to *Strafforde's* death.—"That  
 it wrung his conscience to condemn the earl of high  
 treason, is not unlikely; not because he thought him  
 guiltless of highest treason, had half those crimes been  
 committed against his own private interest or person,  
 as appeared plainly by his charge against the six mem-  
 bers;

guilty of offences, yet quite free from the  
crime

(\*) Milton's  
prose works,  
vol. i. p.  
410.

'bers; but because he knew himself a principal in what  
'the earl was but his accessory; and thought nothing  
'treason against the commonwealth, but against himself  
'only (n).—There was no occasion for this insult; for  
it appears *Charles's* scruple arose from the earl's not being  
liable to the laws then in force against treason, and there-  
fore might think it unjust to execute him as a traitor,  
even though he had appeared much more criminal in his  
eyes than probably he did.—Those who have read the  
trial of this nobleman through, without prejudice, will  
perhaps hardly be so apt to lament his fate as his majesty.  
They may mislike the method taken to punish him, and  
condemn the riots rose on that occasion; but surely they  
cannot be sorry to find a man made an example, who, in  
the judgment of lord *Digby*, 'was the most dangerous  
'minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that  
'can be charactered. I believe, adds he, his practices  
'in themselves have been as high, as tyrannical, as any  
'subject ever ventured on; and the malignity of them  
'are hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his,  
'whereof God hath given him the use, but the devil the  
'application. In a word, I believe him still that grand  
'apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect  
'to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the  
'other (o).' If this was his character, and *Digby* at  
this time was not his foe, can any man—I repeat it—be  
sorry to find that he was made an example of?

(\*) Straf-  
forde's trial  
by Rush-  
worth, p. 50,  
fol. Lond.  
1680.

In the bill of attainder, there was the following pro-  
viso. 'Provided that no judge or judges, justice or  
'justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act  
'or thing to be treason, nor hear or determine any trea-  
'son, in any other manner than he or they should or  
'ought to have done before the making of this act, and  
'as if this act had never been had or made (p). Upon  
this it is remarked, in the *Icon Basilike*, that 'that after-  
'act, vacating the authority of the precedent for future  
'imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some re-  
'morse touched even his most implacable enemies, as  
'know-

(p) Id. p.  
757.



crime of high treason. At length, however,

‘ knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they  
 ‘ would be very loath should be repeated to them-  
 ‘ selves (q).’ How pertinent this reflection is, will ap- (q) King  
 pear by what follows.—‘ Abundance of people, espe- Charles’s  
 ‘ cially the old cavaliers, understand this proviso as a works, p.  
 ‘ reflection on the bill itself; and as if his case [*Straf-* 649.  
*forde’s*] was so very hard, even in the opinion of the  
 ‘ parliament itself, that it was ordered by this clause to  
 ‘ be no precedent for the future. This is a ridiculous  
 ‘ error in many respects: first, because doing a thing in  
 ‘ one parliament, and ordering it to be no precedent to  
 ‘ another, is an arrant bull; since the very doing it is  
 ‘ and must be a precedent, at the same time ’tis ordered  
 ‘ that it shall be none. Secondly, it would have been  
 ‘ an unparalleled open injustice, to put one man to death  
 ‘ for such a crime, as, even in the opinion of those who  
 ‘ punished him, was not great enough to be capital in  
 ‘ any other person, or at any other time. And it will  
 ‘ not weaken this argument to say, that it was an unjust  
 ‘ cruel act, and therefore a good many dissented from it:  
 ‘ for those dissenting members themselves could not be  
 ‘ so uncharitable as to imagine all the members of both  
 ‘ houses, who passed the bill, not only so base and  
 ‘ bloody as to be all the while against it in their con-  
 ‘ sciences, but so foolish also as to own it in the very  
 ‘ bill itself. And therefore nothing can be plainer than  
 ‘ that ’tis only a gross mistake among ignorant people,  
 ‘ to think they meant it in that manner. Accordingly,  
 ‘ that act of *Charles II.* which has reversed this bill of  
 ‘ attainder, and in the preamble recited every thing  
 ‘ imaginable in favour of that earl, yet takes no notice  
 ‘ of this clause, which had more discredited the bill than  
 ‘ all the rest, if it could have been interpreted in that  
 ‘ manner (r).’ If Mr. *Hume* had attended to these con- (r) Works  
 siderations, he would possibly have left out the reflection of John  
 in the close of the following period. ‘ The first par- Sheffield,  
 ‘ liament, after the restoration, reversed the bill of at- duke of  
 ‘ tainder; and even a few weeks after *Strafforde’s* ex- Bucks, vol.  
 ‘ cution, ii. p. 130,  
 1753. 12mo. Lond.

ever, against his own judgment, he signed the bill of attainder, to the very great amazement of *Strafforde*, and the confusion of his adherents.—The death of this great man, lay always heavy on the mind of *Charles*.—This sacrifice, together with the passing the bills for triennial parliaments; for not dissolving the present parliament without its own consent; for abolishing the courts of Star-chamber and High-commission; and the bill for taking away the bishops votes in parliament, and all temporal jurisdictions and offices from them, and all others in holy orders (PPP); I say, the passing these

‘ cution, this very parliament remitted to his children  
 ‘ the more severe consequences of his sentence [by a bill  
 ‘ for restoring them in blood and honour, and settling  
 ‘ his lands on his heirs], as if conscious of the violence,  
 ‘ with which the affair had been conducted (1).’ Surely  
 so just, so generous a thing, merited not such an ill-natured remark.

(1) History  
 of Great  
 Britain, vol.  
 i. p. 286.

(PPP) *The bill for taking away the bishops votes in parliament, and all temporal jurisdictions and offices from them, and all others in holy orders.*] The bishops and court-clergy had rendered themselves so very unpopular and odious, by promoting the schemes for tyranny in church and state, that we need not wonder to find them very furiously attacked by men of sense, virtue, and moderation. In the beginning of this parliament a short bill was brought in, ‘ to take away the bishops votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, or that had relation to any temporal affairs.’ This, on a second reading, was cast out in the house of peers, where the bishops then had votes.—Soon after this another short bill was prepared for ‘ the utter eradication

these bills seemed calculated to allay the fears

‘ dication of bishops, deans and chapters, with all chancellors, officials and all officers, and other persons, belonging to either of them. This also was laid aside for a time (t).’ Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of this bill, says, ‘ they [the governing party in the houses] prevailed with sir *Edward Dering*, a man very opposite to all their designs (but a man of levity and vanity; easily flattered, by being commended), to present into the house; which he did from the gallery, with the two verses in *Ovid*, the application whereof was his greatest motive :

(t) *Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 234, 237.

‘ *Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus  
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

‘ He took notice of the great moderation and candour of the house, in applying so gentle a remedy, by the late bill, to retrench the exorbitancies of the clergy : hoping that by pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the trunk, the tree might prosper the better ; that this mortification might have mended their constitution, and that they would have the more carefully intended their health : but that this soft remedy had proved so ineffectual, that they were grown more obstinate and incorrigible ; so that it was now necessary to put the ax to the root of the tree, and therefore desired that the bill might be read (u).’ I (u) *Id.* p. 237. have quoted this passage at length, in order to give the reader a specimen of lord *Clarendon*’s relations and colourings. Sir *Edward Dering*, here spoken of, was a man of sense, virtue, and learning, perhaps not inferior to his lordship, of a family vastly superior. His zeal for the interest of religion was great, as well as his concern for the honor and welfare of its teachers : he could not, therefore, be actuated by so mean a motive as the application of *Ovid*’s verses. Sir *Edward* himself has published the speech he made on this occasion, in which there is hardly one sentence of what his lordship has put into his mouth. ‘ Sir,’ says he, addressing himself to the

fears of the people, and to satisfy the parliament.

the speaker, ‘ I am now the instrument to present unto you a very short (but a very sharp) bill ; such as these times and their sad necessities have brought forth. It speaks a free language, and makes a bold request : it is a purging bill. I give it you as I take physick, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the last and only cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have first been tried. Then *immedicabile vulnus*, &c. but *cuncta prius tentanda*.—I never was for ruine, so long as I could hold any hope of reforming. My hopes that way are even almost withered.—Sir, you see their demerits have exposed them *publici odii piaculares victimas*. I am sorry they are so ill ; I am more sorry that they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our last bill. When this bill is perfected, I shall give a sad I unto it. And at the delivery in thereof, I doe now profess before-hand, that if my former hopes of a full reformation may yet revive and prosper, I will againe divide my sense upon this bill, and yeeld my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just episcopacy : yet so as that I will never be wanting, with my utmost pains and prayers, to root out all the undue adjuncts to it, and superstructures on it (w).’—Is not this very different from the representation of his speech in *Clarendon*?—This bill, sir *Edward* says, was pressed into his hands by S. A. H. [sir *Arthur Haselrig*] (being then brought unto him by S. H. V. [sir *Henry Vane*] and O. C. [Oliver *Cromwell*]).—But to proceed.—Though for the present this bill was dropped, yet the design against the bishops and clergy was not laid aside. So ill had they acted, for the most part, that the cry against them was common ; and nothing would satisfy but an exclusion of them from those civil employments, in which they had so badly behaved. The bill therefore was soon again revived ; and though committed to a committee of the whole house (of which Mr. *Hyde* was the chairman), once more miscarried. This raised the hopes of the clergy,

(w) Collection of speeches, p. 63.

liament. But they had not this effect: for during

clergy, we may well suppose. But their hopes soon forsook them: for their adversaries determining to clip their wings, and deprive them of the power of wreaking their revenge, presented a new bill, 'for taking away the bishops votes in parliament; and for disabling them to exercise any temporal office in the kingdom.' This passed without much opposition in the house of commons. In the house of lords it stuck for a time: but the clamours against the bishops increasing, and they weakly protesting against every thing done there in their absence, it made its way at length, and was offered to the royal assent. Charles for a time deliberated; but being overcome by persuasions, sorely against his mind, he passed it by commission (x), and thereupon had the thanks of both houses (y).—It is not to be doubted the ill-will excited by the clergy against themselves in the breasts of most men, had a good share in the framing and passing these bills. But it was not ill-will alone. The house of commons, at this time, abounded with men of sense: they saw what was right, they had resolution to do it, and were not ashamed to render the reasons of their conduct. As a curiosity I will give them the reader, from an authority most unexceptionable. They are as follows.

1. Reason of the house of commons: 'because it [votes of bishops in parliament] is a very great hindrance to the exercise of their ministerial function.
2. 'Because they do vow and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation.
3. 'Because councils and canons, in several ages, do forbid them to meddle with secular affairs.
4. 'Because the twenty-four bishops have a dependency upon the archbishops, and because of their canonical obedience to them.
5. 'Because they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have legislative power over the honors, inheritances, persons, and liberties of others.

during these transactions several things happened,

6. ' Because of bishops dependency and expectancy of translations to places of greater profit.

7. ' The several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subject: and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach, and the subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, if twenty-six of that order bee to bee judges upon these complaints. The same reason extends to their legislative power, in any bill to pass for the reformation of their power upon any inconvenience by it.

8. ' Because the whole number of them is interested to maintaine the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that *Scotland* hath utterly abolished it; and multitudes in *England* and *Ireland* have petitioned against it.

9. ' Because bishops being lords of parliament, it setteth too great a distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministry, which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the church.'

These were the reasons given why bishops ought not to vote in parliament, by the commons: and these being published, were answered by an episcopal advocate. Upon which, by order of a committee of the house of commons, there was printed ' An humble examination of a printed abstract of the answers to nine reasons of the house of commons, against the votes of bishops in parliament (z).' It is from this piece I have taken the above reasons, and would recommend the pamphlet to the perusal of all such as are willing well to understand the then reasons for and against the bishops concerning themselves in parliamentary affairs.—But the reader here will please to remember, that whatever might have been thought of the above reasons at that time, we are to suppose they have long been of no force. The zeal for the constitution in church and state, the abhorrence of all

(z) London,  
printed for  
P. Stevens  
and C. Me-  
redith,  
1641, 4to.

pened, which made ill impressions of his majesty on the minds of the leaders in both houses of parliament.

For a project was discovered for bringing up the *English* army from the North, in order to awe the parliament (QQQ), and en-

all ministerial measures inconsistent therewith, the opposition to every thing contrary to liberty and the public good; and above all, the self-denial, contempt of the world, humility, and constant discharge of episcopal duties, as required in the New Testament: I say, all these things shew how much the bishops since the restoration are altered, and how much those are mistaken who represent them as a dead weight in the house of lords, and an useless expence to the public.

(QQQ) *A project was discovered for bringing up the army, in order to awe the parliament, &c.*] Whilst lord *Strafforde's* fate was depending, a consultation was held how his death might be prevented; and more especially how the *English* army in the North might be made use of, in order 'to the preservation of the offices and votes of the bishops; the not disbanding the *Irish* army, until 'the *Scots* were disbanded too; and the endeavouring to 'settle his majestie's revenue to that proportion it was 'formerly.' The persons concerned in this affair were principally *Henry Percy*, brother to the earl of *Northumberland*; *Mr. Wilmot*, eldest son to the lord *Wilmot*; colonel *Ashburnham*, captain *Pollard*, *Mr. Goring*, *Mr. Fermyn*, *Mr. O'Neale*, &c. men of family, fortune, and influence in the army, 'It was resolved by us all,' says *Mr. Percy* in his letter to lord *Northumberland*, dated June 14, 1641, 'if the king should require our assistance in these things [the articles abovementioned], that 'as far as we could, we might contribute thereunto, 'without breaking the laws of the kingdom; and in 'case the king should deny these things being put to 'them, we would not flie from him. All these persons  
' [*Wil-*

enlarge his majesty's revenue. In this project

' [Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, O'Neale] did act and  
' concur in this as well as I. This being all imparted  
' to the king by me from them, I perceived he had been  
' treated with by others concerning something of our  
' army, which did not agree with what we proposed,  
' but inclined a way more high and sharp, not having  
' limits either of honour or law, I told the king he might  
' be pleased to consider with himself which way it was  
' fit for him to hearken unto. For us, we were resolved  
' not to depart from our grounds; and if he employed  
' others, we should not be displeased, whosoever they  
' were: but the particulars of their designe, or the per-  
' sons, we desired not to know, though it was no hard  
' matter to guess at them. In the end, I believe the  
' dangers of the one, and the justice of the other, made  
' the king tell me, he would leave all thoughts of other  
' propositions but ours, as things not practicable; but  
' desired notwithstanding, that *Goring* and *Fermin*, who  
' were acquainted with the other proceedings, should be  
' admitted amongst us: I told him, I thought the other  
' gentlemen would never consent to it, but I would pro-  
' pose it; which I did, and we were all much against  
' it; but the king did press it so much, as, at the last, it  
' was consented unto; and *Goring* and *Fermin* came to  
' my chamber: there I was appointed to tell them, after  
' they had sworn to secrecy, what we had proposed,  
' which I did.—Then we took up again the ways were  
' proposed, which took a great debate; and theirs (I  
' will say) differed from ours in violence and height,  
' which we all protested against, and parted, disagreeing  
' totally; yet remitting it to be spoken of by me and  
' *Fermin* to the king, which we both did. And the  
' king, constant to his former resolution, told him, that  
' all those ways were vain and foolish, and would think  
' of them no more (a).'

(a) Divers  
depositions  
and letters  
appertaining  
to the re-  
monstrance,  
May 19,  
1642, 4to.  
Lond. 1642;  
Rushworth,  
vol. iv. p.  
256.

Mr. *Goring*, on his examination, confessed that ' his  
majesty asked him, if he was engaged in any cabale  
concerning the army: to which he answered that he  
was



jeſt many chief officers were concerned,  
who,

‘ was not: whereupon his majeſty replied, I command  
‘ you then to join yourſelf with *Percy*, and ſome others  
‘ whom you will find with him. And his majeſty like-  
‘ wiſe ſaid, I have a deſire to put my army in a good  
‘ poſture, and am adviſed unto it by my lord of *Briſtol*:  
‘ which was the effect of what paſſed between the king  
‘ and the examinee at that time. The examinee meet-  
‘ ing afterwards with Mr. *Fermin*, Mr. *Fermin* told him,  
‘ that they were to meet at evening at nine of the clock  
‘ with Mr. *Percy*, and ſome others, at Mr. *Percy*’s cham-  
‘ ber; and accordingly Mr. *Fermin* and he went thither  
‘ together, and there found Mr. *Percy* himſelf, Mr. *Wil-*  
‘ *mot*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *O’Neale*, and  
‘ ſir *John Bartley*: Mr. *Percy* then, in the firſt place;  
‘ tendered an oath to this examinee and Mr. *Fermin*,  
‘ the reſt ſaying, that they had taken that oath already:  
‘ this oath was prepared in writing, and was to this ef-  
‘ fect; “ That they ſhould neither directly nor indirectly  
‘ diſcloſe any thing of that which ſhould be then ſaid  
‘ unto them, nor think themſelves abſolved from the  
‘ ſecrecy enjoined by this oath, by any other oath which  
‘ ſhould be afterwards taken by them.”—After this Mr.  
‘ *Percy* made his propoſitions, which he read out of a  
‘ paper, which were to this effect: “ That the army  
‘ ſhould be preſently put into a poſture to ſerve the king,  
‘ and then ſhould ſend up a declaration to the parlia-  
‘ ment of theſe particulars, viz. That nothing ſhould  
‘ be done in parliament contrary to any former act of  
‘ parliament, which was explained, that biſhops ſhould  
‘ be maintained in their votes and functions, and the  
‘ king’s revenue be eſtabliſhed.” From theſe propoſi-  
‘ tions none of Mr. *Percy*’s company did declare them-  
‘ ſelves to diſſent. Then came into conſideration, if the  
‘ army ſhould not immediately be brought to *London*,  
‘ which, as this examinee remembers, was firſt pro-  
‘ pounded by Mr. *Fermin*, and alſo the making ſure of  
‘ the Tower. Theſe things this examinee did urge, to  
‘ ſhew the vanity and danger of the other propoſitions,  
‘ with-

who, on discovery, confessed the king was well

‘ without undertaking this. In the conclusion, this  
 ‘ examine did protest against his having any thing to  
 ‘ do in either design; for the proof of which he appeals  
 ‘ to the consciences of them that were present, and so  
 ‘ parted with them. About this business this examine  
 ‘ faith, that they had two meetings, and cannot distin-  
 ‘ guish what passed at the one, and what at the other;  
 ‘ but the result of all was as he formerly declared (b).’

(b) Divers  
 depositions  
 and letters  
 appertaining  
 to the re-  
 monstrance,  
 May 19,  
 1642, 4to.  
 Lond. 1642;  
 Rushworth,  
 vol. iv. p.  
 256.

—No wonder then if the house of commons, on this  
 and more such evidence, were greatly alarmed (especial-  
 ly as six or eight of the chief conspirators fled): no won-  
 der they were under apprehensions of their own danger,  
 and distrusted the sincerity of *Charles* in all the concessions  
 he had made. For it is plain he was privy to a design  
 against them, and would gladly have brought them to  
 have desisted from any thing displeasing to him, though  
 by a military force; and consequently would either have  
 dissolved them, or rendered them useless to the public.—  
 I have given the account of this affair in the very words  
 of two of the gentlemen engaged in it, in order that  
 the reader may the better be able to judge of the follow-  
 ing passage in lord *Clarendon*. ‘ It will hardly be believed  
 ‘ hereafter (but that the effects of such impostures have  
 ‘ left such deep marks), that the evidence then given  
 ‘ could, in so grave and judging an assembly as an high  
 ‘ court of parliament till then had always been, have  
 ‘ brought the least prejudice upon the king; or, indeed,  
 ‘ any damage to any person accused: there being, in all  
 ‘ the testimonies produced, so little shew of proof of a  
 ‘ real design, or plot, to bring up the army (which was  
 ‘ the chief matter alledged) to awe the parliament, that  
 ‘ in truth it was very evident, there was no plot at all;  
 ‘ only a free communication between persons (the major  
 ‘ part whereof were of the house) of the ill arts that  
 ‘ were generally used to corrupt the affections of the  
 ‘ people; and of some expedient, whereby, in that so  
 ‘ public infection, the army (in which they had all  
 ‘ considerable commands, two of them being general  
 ‘ officers)

well acquainted with it. This discovery  
was

‘ officers) might be preserved from being wrought upon  
‘ and corrupted; in which discourse colonel *Goring* him-  
‘ self, as appeared by his own examination, only pro-  
‘ posed wild and extravagant overtures of bringing up  
‘ the army, and surprising the Tower; which was by all  
‘ the rest, with manifest dislike, rejected: that all this  
‘ had passed at one meeting, in which they, who met,  
‘ were so ill satisfied in one another, that they never  
‘ would come together again. That when the bringing  
‘ up the army to *London* was once talked of before the  
‘ king, his majesty would not hear of it; but only de-  
‘ sired that their affections might be kept entire for his  
‘ service, as far as was consistent with the laws of the  
‘ land, which were in danger to be invaded (c).’ It is  
‘ a sad thing when writers cannot relate facts as they were,  
‘ but polish and file them, to render them more serviceable  
‘ to party purposes! Such representations as this of lord  
‘ *Clarendon*’s, border more on romance than history.  
‘ Bishop *Burnet*’s reflections on lord *Clarendon*’s account of  
‘ this matter, appear to me very judicious.—‘ Whosoever,  
‘ says he, compares the depositions in *Rushworth* with  
‘ the account given of that matter by the earl of *Claren-*  
‘ *don*, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than  
‘ the other is willing to believe; though he acknow-  
‘ ledges, they had both *Goring*’s evidence and *Piercy*’s  
‘ letter with them. I will not take upon me to deter-  
‘ mine whether they believed too much, or the earl of  
‘ *Clarendon* too little. It is certain, they believed all  
‘ that was in the depositions, and a great deal more: for  
‘ *Goring* being continued in the government of *Portf-*  
‘ *mouth*, and his father being advanced from being a  
‘ baron to be an earl; and *Piercy*’s being made a lord,  
‘ and master of the horse to the prince of *Wales*, made  
‘ them conclude they had suppressed a great deal, instead  
‘ of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in  
‘ their hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the demand  
‘ of the militia, that brought on the war (d).’

(c) *Clarendon*, vol. i.  
p. 268.

(d) Speech  
at Sachever-  
ral’s tryal,  
p. 11, 8vc.  
Lond. 1710.

was greatly to his disadvantage.—The *Irish* rebellion was another unlucky event for *Charles*: it excited in his subjects great fears and jealousies, and subjected him to many reproaches. Whether or how far he excited or encouraged it, I will, with all the impartiality I am master of, enquire (RRR).

Certain

(RRR) *Whether Charles excited or encouraged the Irish rebellion—I shall enquire.*] The *Irish* rebellion was one of the most shocking things in history. A design was laid by a great number of the *Irish* nobility, gentry, and others, to seize the castle of *Dublin* on the 23 of Oct. 1641, and possess the city; and they had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the *English* inhabiting there likewise at the same time. The first part of the design, being discovered the night before, failed; but the latter was put in execution, as far as lay in their power. ‘The first and most bloody executions (says sir *John Temple*, father of sir *William Temple*, at this time ‘master of the rolls, and a privy counsellour in *Ireland*) ‘were made in the province of *Ulster*, and there they ‘continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; ‘yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other ‘three provinces did concur with them, as it were, with ‘one common consent, to destroy and pluck up by the ‘roots all the *British* planted thorowout the kingdom. ‘And for this purpose, they went on not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them, men, ‘women, and children; but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places ‘all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts ‘and places of *English* government; nay, as some of ‘themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them ‘either name or posterity in *Ireland* (e).’ The earl of *Castlehaven*, a catholic, calls it a rebellion; and adds, ‘all the water in the sea cannot wash it off that nation ‘[the *Irish*], it having been begun most bloodily on the ‘*English*

(e) History of the Irish rebellion, 8vo. Lond. 1679.

Certain it is, the professions of the rebels, of  
zeal

‘English in that kingdom, in a time of settled peace,  
‘without the least occasion given (f).’ Lord Clarendon (f) Preface  
also relates, ‘That great multitudes of the Irish Roman to his me-  
‘catholicks in the province of *Ulster*, and shortly after moirs, print-  
‘in other provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultu- ed in 12mo.  
‘ously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized Lond. 1680.  
‘upon the towns, castles, and houses belonging to  
‘protestants, which by their force they could possess  
‘themselves of; and with most barbarous circumstances  
‘of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, mur-  
‘dered an incredible number of protestants, men, wo-  
‘men, and children, promiscuously, without distinction  
‘of age or sex, of any who were within reach of their  
‘power. They who escaped best, were robbed of all  
‘they had to their very shirts, and so turned naked, to  
‘endure the sharpness of the season; and by that means,  
‘and for want of relief, many thousands of them perished  
‘by hunger and cold (g).’—Various are the accounts (g) History  
given us of the numbers that perished in this barbarous of the re-  
massacre. Mr. Hume observes, ‘That, by some com- bellion and  
‘putations, those who perished by all those cruelties, are civil wars in  
‘made to amount to a hundred and fifty or two hundred Ireland,  
‘thousand men: by the most moderate, and probably 8vo. Lond.  
‘the most reasonable account, they must have been near 1720.  
‘forty thousand (h).’ It were to be wished Mr. Hume (h) History,  
had told us where this moderate, reasonable account is P. 300.  
to be found: for my own part, I have sought for it in vain.  
Those who, one would think, should have been best in-  
formed, make a very different calculation. Milton, in  
the second edition of his *Iconoclastes*, has the following  
passage: ‘The rebellion and horrid massacre of English  
‘protestants in *Ireland*, to the number of 154000 in the  
‘province of *Ulster* only, by their own computation;  
‘which added to the other three, makes up the total (i) First  
‘sum of that slaughter, in all likelihood, four times as published in  
‘great (i).’ According to this computation, the num- 1650, re-  
bers must have been 616000. This probably is much printed at  
too large.—May says ‘the persons murdered within London for  
‘the persons murdered within A. Millar,  
‘the persons murdered within 1756, 4to.  
‘the persons murdered within p. 49.

zeal for the king, and hatred of the parliament,

(k) History, 'the space of one month were about 200000 (k).—Sir  
b. ii. p. 4.

*John Temple*, who had the best means of information, assures us, 'That since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation made Sept. 15, 1643, which was not full two years after, above 300000 *British* and protestants were cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of *English* planted in *Ireland*, besides those few that perished in the heat of fight, during the

(l) History of the Irish rebellion, p. 12.

'war (l).' The earl of *Castlehaven* indeed, who had been of council with the *Irish*, and a leader of their armies, endeavours to maintain against sir *John* and others,

'That not a twentieth part of the *English* protestants, who were said to be massacred, were really murdered in that rebellion, many hundreds of those, who are in sir *John*'s lists of the slain, being known to be alive several years after his report was made; and his sum total far exceeds the produce of his particulars, though (in several places, to magnify his numbers) he repeats the same names of persons, with the same circumstances of their sufferings (m).—It is not my business

(m) Nicholson's Irish historical library, p. 58, 8vo. Dublin, 1724.

to enter into a controversy about the number destroyed in this massacre: take it at the lowest, it is large, and almost incredible, had we not such incontestable authority for it.—This rebellion, says *Perinchief*, 'yielded fresh matter of reproach to his majesty, to whose councils, at first secretly, they [the faction in the *English* parliament] whispered, and at last publicly imputed, that horrid massacre: which slanders were coloured by the arts of the *Irish* rebels, who, to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragged that the queen was with their army; that the king would come amongst them with auxiliary forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the puritans; that they had the king's commission for what they did; shewing indeed a patent that themselves had drawn; but thereto was added an

old

ment, and the manner of Charles's behaviour

‘ old broad seal that had been taken from an obsolete  
 ‘ patent out of *Farnham-abbey*, by one *Plunket*, in the  
 ‘ presence of many of their lords and priests, as was af-  
 ‘ terwards attested by the confession of many (n).’ — (n) Life of  
 The same aspersions are taken notice of, in the *Icon Basi-* K. Charles,  
*like*: ‘ It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some P. 19.  
 ‘ men’s malice against me, that when they had impu-  
 ‘ dence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody  
 ‘ opportunity should be offered them, with which I must  
 ‘ be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could  
 ‘ be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against  
 ‘ God, disloyalty to myself, and destructive to my sub-  
 ‘ jects. Some men took it very ill not to be believed,  
 ‘ when they affirmed that what the *Irish* rebels did, was  
 ‘ done with my privity (at least), if not by my commis-  
 ‘ sion. But these knew too well, that it is no news for  
 ‘ some of my subjects to fight, not only without my  
 ‘ commission, but against my command and person too:  
 ‘ yet all the while to pretend they fight by my authority,  
 ‘ and for my safety.’ And in the paragraph before,  
 is observed, that ‘ that sea of blood, which hath been  
 ‘ there [in *Ireland*] cruelly and barbarously shed, is  
 ‘ enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and  
 ‘ misery, whom God shall find the malicious author or  
 ‘ instigator of its effusions (o).’ The king, we see, ac- (o) King  
 cording to these writers, was greatly abused, when con- Charles’s  
 sidered as one privy to the *Irish* rebellion. — *Burnet* also works, p.  
 tells us, ‘ That the earl of *Essex* told him, that he had 671.  
 ‘ taken all the pains he could to enquire into the ori-  
 ‘ ginal of the *Irish* massacre; but could never see any  
 ‘ reason to believe the king had any accession to it. He  
 ‘ did indeed believe, that the queen hearkened to the  
 ‘ propositions made by the *Irish*, who undertook to take  
 ‘ the government of *Ireland* into their hands, which they  
 ‘ thought they could easily perform: and then, they said,  
 ‘ they would assist the king to subdue the hot spirits at  
 ‘ *Westminster*. With this the plot of the insurrection  
 ‘ began; and all the *Irish* believed the queen encouraged  
 ‘ it.

viour towards them, helped not a little to hinder

(p) Burnet's  
history of  
his own  
times, vol. i.  
p. 60.

‘ it. But in the first design there was no thought of a  
‘ massacre : that came in their head as they were laying  
‘ methods of executing it, so as those were managed by  
‘ the priests, they were the chief men that set on the  
‘ *Irish* to all the blood and cruelty that followed (p).’

Mr. *Hume* suggests the following arguments, to prove  
that *Charles* had no hand in the *Irish* rebellion.

1. ‘ Ought the affirmation of perfidious infamous re-  
‘ bels ever to have passed for any authority ?’

2. ‘ No body can tell us what the words of the pre-  
‘ tended commission was. That which we find in *Rush-*  
‘ *worth's* and in *Milton's* works, *Toland's* edition, is  
‘ plainly an imposture ; because it pretends to be dated  
‘ in *October* 1641, yet mentions facts which happened  
‘ not till some months after. It appears that the *Irish*  
‘ rebels, observing some inconsistency in their first forge-  
‘ ry, were obliged to forge this commission anew, yet  
‘ could not render it coherent nor probable.

3. ‘ Nothing could more obviously be pernicious to  
‘ the king's cause, than the *Irish* rebellion ; because it  
‘ increased his necessities, and rendered him still more  
‘ dependent on the parliament, who had before suffi-  
‘ ciently shewn on what terms they would assist him.

4. ‘ The instant the king heard of the rebellion,  
‘ which was a very few days after its commencement,  
‘ he wrote to the parliament, and gave over to them the  
‘ management of the war. Had he built any projects  
‘ on that rebellion, would he not have waited some  
‘ little time to see how they would succeed ? Would he  
‘ presently have adopted a measure which was obviously  
‘ so hurtful to his authority ?

5. ‘ What can be imagined to be the king's projects ?  
‘ To raise the *Irish* to arms, I suppose, and bring them  
‘ over to *England* for his assistance. But is it not plain,  
‘ that the king never intended to raise war in *England* ?  
‘ Had that been his intention, would he have rendered  
‘ the parliament perpetual ? Does it not appear by the  
‘ whole train of events, that the parliament forced him  
‘ into the war ?



hinder a reconciliation between him and his people.

But

6. ' The king conveyed to the justices intelligence, which ought to have prevented the rebellion.

7. ' The *Irish* catholics, in all their future transactions with the king, where they endeavour to excuse their insurrection, never had the assurance to plead his commission; even amongst themselves they dropped that pretext. It appears that sir *Phelim O'Neale* chiefly, and he only at first, promoted that imposture.

8. ' *O'Neale* himself confessed the imposture on his trial, and at his execution.

9. ' It is ridiculous to mention the justification which *Charles II.* gave to the marquis of *Antrim*, as if he had acted by his father's commission. *Antrim* had no hand in the first rebellion and massacre. He joined not the rebels till two years after, and he performed important services to the king, in sending over a body of men to *Montrose* (9).'

(9) History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 304, in the note.

Thus have I given the reasons alledged by the friends of *Charles*, to prove he had no hand in the *Irish* rebellion. The impartiality of history requires a representation of the arguments alledged against him, on this head, by his adversaries.—The reader will remember, that I am no ways answerable for the conclusiveness of the one side or the other.

1. It is affirmed, that the king was ever friendly to the *Irish* papists. *Milton*, who alledges many proofs of it, may be consulted by the inquisitive reader (r). I will add one or two, which I suppose fell not within his knowledge.

(r) *Milton's* prose works, vol. i. p. 445.

The earl of *Antrim*, in a letter to lord *Wentworth*, dated *York-house*, July 17, 1638, has the following passage: ' The marquis [of *Hamilton*] informs me, that the lord of *Lorne*, who possesses part of my predecessors lands (being the nearest parts of *Scotland* to *Ireland*), is providing men and arms with all the power he has, which he says and gives out is to encounter me. This man is my enemy, and what his intentions are I do

(s) Straff-  
orde's let-  
ters, vol. ii.  
p. 184. See  
also a pas-  
sage from  
lord Went-  
worth in the  
note (ggg).

' not know; but I thought, upon this intelligence, to  
' move the king for arms for his majestie's service, and  
' the better defence of my country (s).' This, I sup-  
pose, he did, and his request was complied with by his  
majesty. For in a letter from *Wentworth* to the king,  
dated *Dublin*, 28th *July*, 1638, we have the following  
passage. ' The earl of *Antrim* shall be observed, as  
' your majesty hath directed. I wish his performance  
' may answer the expectation it seems is had of him.  
' For me, that must in all particulars unloose my heart  
' towards all other respects, as oft as I am honoured to  
' be heard by my gracious master, I neither hope much  
' of his parts, of his power, or of his affections. His  
' lordship lately writ to me to be furnished of arms, and  
' that the magazine for them might be kept at *Coleraine*.  
' Communicate this with the council here I durst not;  
' for I am sure they would never advise such a strength to  
' be intrusted with a grandchild of the earl of *Tyrone*:  
' and for myself, I hold it unsafe any store of arms should  
' lye so near the great *Scottish* plantations in those parts;  
' lest, if their countrymen grow troublesome, and they  
' partake of the contagion, they might chance to bor-  
' row those weapons of his lordship for a longer time,  
' and another purpose, than his lordship would find cause  
' to thank them for. They are shrewd children, not  
' won much by courtship, especially from a *Roman* ca-  
' tholick. I beseech your majestie's further directions in  
' this particular, which shall be obeyed (t).' It appears  
indeed, that *Wentworth* had no good opinion of *Antrim's*  
designs; for in a letter, written to his majesty the 11th of  
*August* following, speaking of some troops newly raised,  
he says, ' If the earl of *Antrim* hear of the raising of  
' these troops, your majesty will have him a suitor for  
' one; but I beseech you he may not be admitted, as a  
' thing that would be displeasing to all the *English* on this  
' side: his religion, nor yet his descent (being the grand-  
' child and son of your majesty knows whom), sort not  
' well with it; and I am upon very probable reason for  
' believing, that in the way of pretending service, but  
' doing nothing for your majesty, he attentively watcheth  
' to do something for his own fortune and power, for  
' which

(t) Id. p.  
187.

‘ which hereafter to thank himself far more than your  
‘ majesty (u).’

(u) Stra-  
forde's let-  
ters, vol. ii.  
p. 204.

The king was far enough from being moved by these  
representations from his purposes of kindness to *Antrim*;  
for in a letter, written from *Woodstock* the 30th of the  
same month, to the lord deputy, he expresses himself as  
follows:— ‘ There rests nothing but the particular of the  
‘ earl of *Antrim* to answer, whose professions have been  
‘ so free and noble at this time, that (as I have promised)  
‘ indeed he deserves to be recommended to you; which  
‘ at his coming over to you, I wish you to take notice of  
‘ to him. But to have the command of a magazine of  
‘ arms, I leave to you and the council there to judge how  
‘ far ye will trust any one in that kind, of his profession  
‘ in religion. To conclude this, I would have you favour  
‘ and countenance him as much as any one of his pro-  
‘ fession in religion (w).’

(w) Id. p.  
211.

In a letter, written the 25th of *Jan.* following, his ma-  
jesty tells the lord deputy, ‘ That he should be glad if  
‘ he could find some way to furnish the earl of *Antrim*  
‘ with arms, though he be a *Roman* catholic; for he  
‘ may be of much use to me at this time, to shake loose  
‘ upon the earl of *Argyle* (x).’

(x) Id. p.  
275.

Lord *Wentworth* again and again represented the earl  
as poor, unexperienced, incapable of conducting any im-  
portant affair, and withal mischievously bent. But his  
orders from the king were express, and there was no far-  
ther room for refusing him. ‘ If it be possible,’ says the  
king in another letter, written *Ap.* 11, 1639, to the lord  
deputy, ‘ it is most fit that *Antrim* be set upon *Argyle*,  
‘ and I shall no ways despair of the success, so that you  
‘ lead the design, whereof I find him most desirous.  
‘ Therefore I desire you not to shun it, but to assist him  
‘ all you can in it (y).’ ‘ Upon the receipt of his ma-  
‘ jesty's letter, lord *Antrim* sent to the *O'Neales*, *O'Ha-*  
‘ *ras*, the *O'Lurgans* (if I mistake not that name, says  
‘ lord *Wentworth*), the *Mac Gennises*, the *Mac Guyres*,  
‘ the *Mac Mahons*, the *Mac Donnels*, (as many *Oe's* and  
‘ *Mac's* as would startle a whole council-board on this  
‘ side to hear of) and all his other friends, requiring  
‘ them, in his majesty's name, to meet him with their

(y) Id. p.  
318.

‘ forces;

(2s) Strafford's letters, vol. ii. p. 300.

‘ forces ; so as this business now is become no secret, but the common discourse both of his lordship and the whole kingdom (z).’

Lord *Wentworth* still continued to represent the folly of his undertakings, and the danger of trusting him with power. At length his majesty ordered secretary *Windsbank* to write him word, ‘ That his reasons against the work itself, in the way he [*Antrim*] proposed it, and the dangerous consequences it must necessarily produce, are very solid and unanswerable : nevertheless, adds he, his majesty will not have the earl discouraged, but rather heartned as much as may be ; and likes your lordship’s advice in the end of your dispatch very well, that the designs may rest till the next spring ; and in the mean time so carried, as neither the earl be discouraged, nor set at liberty from his undertaking, but that such use may be made of him as may be for the advantage of his majesty’s service (a).’

(a) Id. p. 322.

But farther, the favour in which the *Irish* catholics were with the king, appears from an extravagant grant made by him to the earl of *St. Alban’s* and *Clanricard* : ‘ a grant of divers lands and tenements of a large extent and value, containing a great part of the county of *Galway*, where the people, besides their idleness and want of manufactures, were in a manner wholly Popish and *Irish*, not a Protestant or *Englishman* of note in the whole county, extreamly addicted in their affections to *Spain*, and accommodated with fit harbours to comply with them (b).’ The lord deputy and council drew up a very strong remonstrance against the carrying it into execution ; in which, among many other things, it is observed, that ‘ It hath been the constant endeavour of this state [the *Irish*] to break the dependences which great lords draw to themselves, of followers, tenants, and neighbours, and make the subject to hold immediately of the crown, and not to be liable to the distresses of great lords ; which course, if it be useful in other parts of this kingdom, is most necessary here. For partly by reason of this earl’s large patents, and many tenures on him thereby granted ; partly by his commission of presidency in that county, which makes him

(b) Id. p. 366.

him little less or other than a count palatine; and partly by the power which the popish clergy have with the people there; this state hath found very little obedience in any thing wherein that earl and clergy have not been pleased to concur, and in future times the danger thereof may be sooner felt than prevented, as by some examples in our neighbour kingdom we may easily foresee (c). But his majesty's pleasure was to have the grant passed, notwithstanding all that could be alledged; though, in the opinion of the lord deputy, he had much better have given him one hundred thousand pounds out of his coffers in ready money (d). (c) Strafforde's letters, vol. ii. p. 367. (d) Id. p. 425.

3. 'Tis alledged that *Charles's* good affections to the rebels is manifest, from the tenderness with which he always spoke of and treated them. There was no proclamation ordered against the rebels till *January 1641*, and when it was printed, then it was of little effect: for his majesty expressly commanded the printer 'to print not above forty copies, and to forbear to make any further publication of them: till his pleasure be further signified (e).'  
—Mr. *Wood*, speaking of sir *Edward Walker*, (e) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 473. says, that 'with great diligence and observation he had committed to writing, in a paper-book, the several occurrences that passed in the king's army, and the victories obtained by his majesty over his rebellious subjects, the book was seized on at the battle of *Naseby*, by some of the forces belonging to the parliament, then victors. Afterwards it was presented to their general, called sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who perusing it, found one passage therein, which was very observable to him, viz. That whereas he [*Walker*] had taken occasion to speak of the *Irish*, and called them rebels; his majesty, who before that time had perused the book, did, among several alterations made therein with his own hand, put out the word *rebels* with his pen, and over it wrote *Irish* (f).'  
—*Milton* observes, that 'this chapter [concerning the *Irish* rebellion, in the *Icon Basilike*], if nothing else, may suffice to discover his good affections to the rebels; which, in this that follows, too notoriously appears; imputing this insurrection to 'the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity, the covetous

"ous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men;" (these "some men" by his continual paraphrase, are meant "the parliament"); "and lastly, to the fear of utter extirpation." If the rebels had see'd some advocate to speak partially and sophistically in their defence, he could hardly have dazzled better; yet, nevertheless, would have proved himself no other than a plausible deceiver (g).'

(g) Milton's  
prose works.

4. 'Mac Mahoun, who was to join the lord *Mac Guire* for the surprising the castle of *Dublin*, being taken and examined at the rack, confessed, that the original of the rebellion was brought to them out of *England* by the *Irish* committee, employed to his majesty for the redress of grievances (b).'

(b) Rushworth, vol.  
v. P. 349.

5. Stress was laid by the lords and commons on 'the general profession of the rebels in all parts of that kingdom [*Ireland*], that the cause of their rising was to preserve his majesty and the queen from being oppressed by the puritan parliament, and that it was by their consent. That they knew well the best in *England* would side with them; that they had good warrant in black and white for what they did. Their calling the *English* army parliament-rogues, and traitors to the queen; and telling them, at the beginning of the rebellion, before any appearances of war here, that ere long they should see *England* as much in blood as *Ireland* then was. That they had their party in *England* and *Scotland*, which should keep both kingdoms so busy at home, that they should not send any aid against them; with a multitude of such like expressions from the *Irish* of the best quality and degree.'

6. Mr. *Jephson*, a member of the house of commons, at a conference before both houses, delivered himself in these words: 'At my late being at *Oxford*, finding the lord *Dillon* and the lord *Taaffe* in favour at court, I acquainted the lord *Faulkland*, his majesty's secretary, that there were two lords about the king, who, to his majesty's great dishonour, and the great discouragement of his good subjects, did make use of his majesty's name to encourage the rebels: to make this appear, I informed him, that I had seen two letters, sent by the  
' lord

• lord *Dillon* and the lord *Taaffe*, to the lord of *Muskerie*,  
 • the chief man in rebellion in *Munster*, and one of the  
 • *Irish* committee sent into *England*, intimating, that  
 • though it did not stand with the convenience of his  
 • majesty's affairs to give him publick countenance, yet  
 • that his majesty was well pleased with what he did, and  
 • would in time give him thanks for it (or near to that  
 • purpose); that these letters were seen by the lord *Inchi-*  
 • *quine*, the chief commander of the *English* forces in  
 • *Munster*, and by his secretary, who had kept copies  
 • of them; and that I was ready to justify as much.  
 • Whereupon the lord *Faulkland* was pleased to say, that  
 • they deserved to be hanged. But though I staid there  
 • at *Oxford* about a week after this discovery made, I  
 • never was called to any farther accompt, nor any pre-  
 • judice done to these two lords; but they had the same  
 • freedom in court as before, for aught I could observe or  
 • hear to the contrary (i).

(i) Rush-  
 worth, vol.  
 v. P. 350.

7. The earl of *Leicester*, being appointed lord lieu-  
 tenant of *Ireland* by his majesty, was desired by the par-  
 liament speedily to repair thither. Whereupon he waited  
 on his majesty at *York* to receive his instructions; but he  
 was for a long time put off with words; and not only so,  
 • but the king being informed that there were certain  
 • draught-horses provided to be sent into *Ireland*, his ma-  
 • jesty told him he must have them for his own use.—  
 • *Leicester* strongly remonstrated against it; but in vain:  
 • for the king gave a warrant to fetch the horses, and  
 • commanded one *Errington* on his allegiance to execute  
 • it (k).

(k) Id. p.

On this head 'tis farther alledged, ' That the parlia-  
 • ment and adventurers having designed 5000 foot, and  
 • 500 horse, for the relief of *Munster*, under the com-  
 • mand of lord *Wharton*—and when nothing was want-  
 • ing but a commission to the lord *Wharton*, to enable  
 • him for that service, no commission could be obtained  
 • from his majesty; by reason whereof, *Limerick* was  
 • wholly lost, and the province of *Munster* in great dis-  
 • tress. That clothes, provided by the parliament for  
 • the troops in *Ireland*, were seized by his majesty's offi-  
 • cers here in *England*. That his majesty's forces were  
 • so

‘so quartered in and about the common roads to *Ireland*, that neither money, clothes, victuals, or other provision, could pass thither by land with any safety. That captain *Kettleby* the admiral, and sir *Henry Stradling* the vice-admiral of the ships, which were directed to lie upon the coast of *Ireland*, to annoy the rebels, and to prevent the bringing to them ammunition and relief from foreign parts, were both called away from that employment by his majesty’s command; and by reason of their departure from the coast of *Munster*, the rebels there had received powder, ammunition, and relief from foreign parts (l).’ Whoever would see more on this subject, may consult the answer of the house of commons to his majesty’s message of the 13th of Aug. 1642, from which the above is extracted.

8. The cessation made with the rebels, Sept. 1643, after the war had been carried on ‘by the *English* from the first landing of their forces out of *England*, with so great success, as that, in all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats; but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom (m).’—‘This cessation, says lord *Clarendon*, made and continued with those rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into [were not the *English* always victorious], had been the most unpopular act the king had ever done, and had wrongfully contributed to the reputation of the two houses of parliament (n).’

Lord *Lansdown*, speaking of this same affair, calls it that fatal cessation with the rebels, as much exclaimed against by the king’s friends at *Oxford*, as by his enemies at *Westminster* (o).’ By this cessation a good part of the regiments sent to *Ireland* was called back, and in a manner forced to fight against the parliament of *England*.—*Milton*, with great seeming force, presses *Charles* on this head in the following words. ‘That we may yet see further how much he was their friend, after that the parliament had brought them every where either to famine, or a low condition, he, to give them all the respite and advantages they could desire, without advice of parliament, to whom he himself had

‘com-

(l) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 276.

(m) Temple’s history of the Irish rebellion, p. 332.

(n) Rebel- lion and civil wars in Ireland, p. 66.

(o) Lansdown’s works, vol. ii. p. 193, 1736. London.



‘ committed the managing of that war, makes a cessation; in pretence to relieve the protestants “ overborne there with numbers,” but, as the event proved, to support the papists, by diverting and drawing over the *English* army there, to his own service here against the parliament, For that the protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the misfortune of those forces, which at their landing here mastered, without great difficulty, great part of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, yet made a shift to keep their own in *Ireland* (p).’

(p) Preface to works, vol. i. p. 442.

9. The employing the earl of *Glamorgan* to negotiate with the rebels, in order to bring over a body of them for his service against the parliament of *England*, has been deemed no way favourable to the character of *Charles* in this affair.

The negotiations of *Glamorgan* with the pope’s nuncio are very curious: the truth of them cannot, I think, well be doubted by the considerate and impartial reader of the *Enquiry into the Share which K. Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan*, and the Appendix lately added. To these I must refer such as chuse to have information on this head (q).’

(q) See also Castellan’s memoirs, p. 79.

10. *Charles II.* in a letter directed to the duke of *Ormond* and the lords of the council in *Ireland*, dated *July* 10th, 1663, says expressly, that the ‘ referees, after several meetings, and perusal of what had been offered to them by the marquis [of *Antrim*], have reported to us, that they have seen several letters, all of them the handwriting of our royal father, to the said marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the *Irish*, in order to the king’s service, by reducing to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the service of *Scotland*. That besides the letters and orders under his majesty’s hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our royal father, and from our royal mother, with the privacy and with the directions of the king our father; by which they are persuaded, that whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actions the said marquis had with the

‘ the confederate *Irish* catholicks, was directed or allowed by the said letters, instructions, and directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the king our father was well pleased with what the marquis did, after he had done it, and approved the same.’—And again says his majesty, ‘ We cannot in justice but, upon the petition of the marquis of *Antrim*, and after the serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you, that we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the crown; and that what he did by way of correspondence, or compliance with the *Irish* rebels, was in order to the service of our royal father, and warranted by his instructions, and the trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis (r).’

(r) See the letter at large in Truth brought to Light, p. 21. See also Burnet, vol. i. p. 59.

(s) History of the Irish rebellion, p. 199, fol. Lond. 1680.

(t) Vol. iv. p. 607.

If this account given by *Charles II.* be true, his father must have had more hand in the *Irish* rebellion than his friends could have wished. For tho’ Mr. *Hume* is so very positive to the contrary, nothing is more certain than that *Antrim* had a hand in the first rebellion in *Ireland*.—Dr. *Borlase* says expressly, ‘ that the marquis of *Antrim*, from the beginning, had passionately served them [the confederate catholicks] in their most intimate concerns (s).’ Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of *Antrim*, says, ‘ The rebellion drove his lady [the dowager of *Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*] from *Ireland*, to find a livelyhood out of her own estate in *England*.—The earl of *Antrim*, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels (t).’ If this is not sufficient, I observe further, that in the declaration of the lords and commons concerning the rise and progress of the *Irish* rebellion, dated July 25, 1643, we have the following words: ‘ The earl of *Antrim*, a notorious rebel, was taken by the *Scots* army in *Ulster*, and imprisoned there, upon suspicion of high treason. To avoid his trial, he brake prison, and fled into the north parts of *England*, and hath been with the queen at *York* a long time; from whence he was sent to the rebels

But that which had as great an influence as any thing in widening the breach between his majesty and his parliament, was the impeachment of the lord *Kimbolton* (sss), *Denzil Holles*, sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Strode*, of high treason,

‘rebels of *Ulster* with secret instructions, and had ammunition assigned him by the queen’s directions (u).’ (u) *Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 353. It was nothing near two years from the breaking out of the rebellion that this was published to the world.——

These are the principal arguments urged against *Charles*, on the head of the *Irish* rebellion. For his memory’s sake, and for the credit of human nature, it were to be wished that they may have less real than seeming force. I know not that I have omitted any thing in his vindication: I may be mistaken; but if I have, ’tis merely through ignorance or inadvertency: for nothing is more mean and base than to attempt to conceal the truth of history. The reader here is carefully to remember, that those who think worst of this prince, do not suppose him consenting or even privy to the massacre. This is too black a thing for him to be charged with, even by his foes. But what is alledged against him is, that he excited the *Irish* to appear in arms, master the protestants, and help the king against his parliament.

(sss) *The impeachment of the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Holles, &c.*] *Charles*, who never regarded the privileges of parliament, being greatly vexed to find that the stream ran against him, determined to avenge himself on those whom he deemed to be the authors of the opposition made to his will. For this end, sir *Edward Herbert*, the king’s attorney-general, by his majesty’s command, accused the six above-mentioned persons of high treason. The lords, before whom Mr. attorney had appeared, sent notice to the commons, that some of their members had this charge advanced against them. At the same time information was also brought them,

son, by the attorney-general, and his majesty's

them, that several persons were sealing up the trunks, doors, and papers belonging to Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Holles*, and the rest of the five members. The house of commons, on this news, made an order for the resisting those concerned in such proceedings, and detaining them in safe custody; and withal desired a conference with the lords, touching the breach of privilege. Whilst this latter was in agitation, a serjeant at arms, being sent by the king, was admitted into the house, where he, in his majesty's name, demanded the five gentlemen, and told them, he was commanded to arrest them for high treason. The commons hereupon made an humble application to the king, but ordered the members to keep their seats in the house. Whereupon, on the 4th of *January*, 1641, information being given them that endeavours would be used that day to apprehend the five members, the house required them to depart. They had no sooner obeyed, than his majesty with his guards entered the house; and as he passed up towards the chair he cast his eye on the right hand, near the bar of the house, where Mr. *Pym* used to sit; but his majesty not seeing him there (knowing him well), went up to the chair, and said, "By your leave, Mr. speaker, I must borrow your chair a little;" whereupon the speaker came out of the chair, and his majesty stepped up into it. After he had stood in the chair a while, casting his eye upon the members as they stood up uncovered, but could not observe any of the five members to be there; nor indeed were they easy to be discerned (had they been there) among so many bare faces, all standing up together (*w*). Then his majesty made this speech.—"I am sorry for this occasion of my coming unto you: yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms, upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereupon I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you, that albeit no king that ever was in *England* shall be more careful of your priviledges, to  
main-

(w) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 475, 476, 477.

jeſty's coming in perſon with a guard to demand

' maintain them to the uttermoſt of his power, than I  
' ſhall be; yet you muſt know, that in caſes of treaſon  
' no perſon hath a priviledge. And therefore I am come  
' to know, if any of theſe perſons that were accuſed are  
' here: for I muſt tell you, gentlemen, that ſo long as  
' theſe perſons that I have accuſed (for no ſlight crime,  
' but treaſon) are here, I cannot expect that this houſe  
' will be in the right way that I do heartily wiſh it:  
' therefore I am come to tell you, that I muſt have them  
' whereſoever I find them. Well, ſince I ſee all the  
' birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you ſhall  
' ſend them unto me as ſoon as they return hither. But  
' I aſſure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend  
' any force; but ſhall proceed againſt them in a legal  
' and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now,  
' ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this no  
' unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly: that  
' whatſoever I have done in favour, and to the good of  
' my ſubjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble  
' you no more; but tell you, I do expect, as ſoon as they  
' come to the houſe, you will ſend them to me; other-  
' wiſe I muſt take my own courſe to find them.'

' When the king was looking about the houſe, the  
' ſpeaker ſtanding below the chair, his majeſty aſked  
' him, whether any of theſe perſons were in the houſe?  
' whether he ſaw any of them? and where they were?  
' To which the ſpeaker, falling on his knee, thus an-  
' ſwered:

' May it pleaſe your majeſty,

' I have neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in this  
' place, but as the houſe is pleaſed to direct me, whole-  
' ſervant I am here; and humbly beg your majeſty's  
' pardon, that I cannot give any other answer than this,  
' to what your majeſty is pleaſed to demand of me.'

' The king having concluded his ſpeech, went out of  
' the houſe again, which was in great diſorder; and  
' many members cried out aloud, ſo as he might hear  
' them, Priviledge! Priviledge! and forthwith ad-

A a

' journeyed

mand them of the house. This greatly alarmed

(x) Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 476. See also parliamentary history, vol. x. p. 164.

(y) Id. p. 167.

‘ journeyed till the next day, at one of the clock (x).’ This action of his majesty’s was, the next day, declared by ‘ the house of commons to be a high breach of the rights and privilege of parliament, and inconsistent with the liberties and freedom thereof (y).’

In short, the commons adjourned themselves for several days, and appointed a committee to sit in *Guildhall*. The king proclaimed the accused members traitors; but they were vindicated by the parliament, as well as protected and caressed by the city of *London*, who conducted them, on the 11th of *Jan.* following, in great pomp to *Westminster*; from whence the king with his family had retired the day before to *Hampton-court*.—‘ It cannot be expressed, says *Clarendon*, how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country, upon these late proceedings of the king. They, who had before even lost their spirits, having lost their credit and reputation, except amongst the meanest people, who could never have been made use of by them, when the greater should forsake them; and so despaired of ever being able to compass their designs of malice or ambition (and some of them had resumed their old resolutions of leaving the kingdom); now again recovered greater courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been, the court being reduced to a lower condition, and to more disesteem and neglect than ever it had undergone. All that they had formerly said of plots and conspiracies against the parliament, which had before been laughed at, was now thought true and real; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and foresight. All that had been whispered of *Ireland*, was now talked aloud and printed; as all other seditious pamphlets and libels were. The shops of the city generally shut up, as if an enemy were at their gates, ready to enter and to plunder them; and the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for

alarmed both houses of parliament, and made them cast about for their own security, as well as for what they deemed to be for the common good. The power, therefore, of

‘ for directions, and were then disposed for any undertaking (x).’ (x) Vol. iv, p. 377.

And afterwards he observes, ‘ That from this day we may reasonably date the levying of war in England; whatsoever hath been since done, being but the superstructures upon those foundations which were then laid (a).’ Mr. *Hume* also attributes ‘ all the ensuing disorders and civil wars to this impeachment of lord *Kimbolton* and the five members (b).’ Mr. *Whitlock* (b) History, in like manner observes, ‘ that this sudden action of the king’s was the first visible and apparent ground of the ensuing troubles (c).’ The author of *Icon Basilike* acknowledges the inconveniences brought on his majesty hereby in the following words: ‘ My going to the house of commons to demand justice upon the five members, was an act which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could. It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from passion than reason, and not guided with such discretion as the touchiness of those times required (d).’ (c) Memo-  
rials, p. 53.

Nor could less well be expected from such an action as this: for it was apparent to the whole world, that his majesty looked on these men as his enemies, merely on account of what they had done in parliament, in which the majority of the houses had concurred with them; and therefore every man who had thus concurred, had reason to expect the like treatment, the consequence of which could be nothing less than the destruction of the members, and the subversion of the liberties of the people. From *Charles’s* treatment of *Loudon* (e), may be guessed how he would have used these members, had he once got them into his power. (d) King  
Charles’s  
works, p.  
650.

From *Charles’s* treatment of *Loudon* (e), may be guessed how he would have used these members, had he once got them into his power. (e) See note  
(111).

of the militia was strenuously demanded by them, and as stiffly refused by *Charles*. This gave rise to a civil war (TTT), which in a short

(TTT) *The disputes about the militia gave rise to a civil war.*] *Heylin*, speaking concerning the king's going to the house and demanding the five members, says, 'This was voted by the house of commons, for such an unexpiable breach of privilege, that neither the king's qualifying of that action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisfy their jealousies, and secure their fears, but the putting the Tower of *London* into their hands, together with the command of the royal navy, as also of the forts, castles, and the train bands of the kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the militia (f).' We are told also the same by *Charles* himself, when on the scaffold. 'All the world knows that I never did begin a war first with the two houses of parliament; and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their privileges: they began upon me; it is the militia they began upon; they confess that the militia was mine; but they thought it fit for to have it from me (g).' That the parliament thought it fit to have the militia from *Charles*, is evident. The preamble to the ordinance, concerning the militia, is in the following words: 'Whereas there has been, of late, a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe to be an effect of the bloody counsels of papists, and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of *Ireland*: and by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellion and insurrections in this kingdom of *England*, but also to back them with forces from abroad: for the safety therefore of his majesty's person, the parliament and kingdom, in this time of

(f) Life of  
Laud, p.  
500.

(g) King  
*Charles's*  
works, p.  
208.

' immi-



short time extended over the whole kingdom,

‘ imminent danger, it is ordained (b), &c.’ This was (b) Parliamentary history, vol. x. p. 285; read and agreed to by the lords, Feb. 16, 1641; and ordered to be presented to the king by the lords *Stamford* and *Grey*. *Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 431.

Lord *Clarendon* says, ‘ This ordinance was the most avowed foundation of all the miseries that followed (i).’ Both houses of parliament made applications to his majesty to give his assent to it; but he refusing, they very plainly tell him, in a declaration of *March 1*, 1641, ‘ They are enforced, in all humility, to protest, that if your majesty shall persist in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the kingdom are such as will endure no longer delay: but unless you shall be graciously pleased to assure them, that you will speedily apply your royal assent to the satisfaction of their former desires, they shall be enforced, for the safety of your majesty and your kingdoms, to dispose of the militia, by the authority of both houses, in such manner as hath been proposed to your majesty, and they resolve to do it accordingly (k).’ The king, however, remained inflexible. Whereupon it was resolved by the commons, and assented to by the lords, ‘ That the kingdom be put forthwith into a posture of defence, by authority of parliament, in such a way as is already agreed on by both houses (l).’ Accordingly the ordinance passed the house of lords on the 5th of the same month, the king’s name and authority being wholly left out of it. It would be tiresome to the reader to mention what farther passed on this subject. Those who are desirous of information, may consult *Rushworth’s* collections, or the parliamentary history. All I shall say more is, that the parliament proceeding in settling the militia, and requiring persons concerned to put it in execution, the king forbade it, and on the contrary sent forth his commission of array, which by the two houses was declared to be illegal. Thus some obeying the king, others the parliament, oppositions arose, and blows ensued, till at last the whole kingdom was involved in blood.

dom, divided friends and families, and filled almost

(m) Whitlock, p. 59.

In the passage above quoted, *Charles* declares, ' That the parliament confessed that the militia was his ; but they thought it fit to have it from him.' This is not an exact representation of their opinion. For though *Mr. Palmer*, *Mr. Hyde*, *Mr. Bridgman*, and divers others, eminent lawyers and gentlemen, gave their opinions positively against the bill, and left the house upon the passing of it ; yet ' the lord *Littleton* [lord keeper] was most confident for the legality of it, and divers other lawyers and gentlemen of the short robe were clearly for it ; and that the lords and commons, in case of the king's minority, sickness, or absence, had done the same (m).<sup>2</sup> However, it must be confessed the parliament, had they not been urged by considerations of their own and the kingdom's safety, probably would never have thought of assuming this power. For *Whitlock* tells us it was urged, as arguments in favour of the parliament's passing the ordinance, ' That the business of *Ireland*, and other threatening dangers, gave too much cause of fears and jealousies to the parliament, and to stand upon their guard, and for defence of themselves and the kingdom : without which the king would so grow upon them, and his evil counsellors so prevail, that they would undoubtedly bring their designs to pass of a speedy introducing of popery and tyranny ; whereas if they saw the parliament in a good posture of defence, and that the people would generally adhere to them, as no doubt but that they would, that then the king would be brought to a good accommodation and agreement with his parliament, without a blow to be struck between them : whereby they should preserve the just rights and liberties of the subject, the privilege of parliament, and themselves and their friends, and the protestant religion, from ruin ; which, without this appearance only of arms, or power to arm, if there should be occasion, would unavoidably be brought to pass.—And he farther tells us, ' That the most powerful and active members solemnly protested, that they  
' had

almost every corner with terror and bloodshed.

‘ had not the least purpose or intention of any war with  
 ‘ the king, but to arm themselves for their necessary  
 ‘ defence (n).—In short, they thought they had great (n) Whit-  
 reason to distrust his majesty, and, thinking this, it is no lock, p. 59.  
 wonder they should endeavour to provide for their own  
 security. In the answer to his majesty’s message from  
 Newmarket, we have the following words, which merit  
 the attention of the reader. ‘ To your majesty’s next  
 ‘ question, whether you had denied any bill for the ease  
 ‘ and security of your subjects? we wish we could stop  
 ‘ in the midst of our answer, That with much thankful-  
 ‘ ness we acknowledge that your majesty hath passed  
 ‘ many good bills, full of contentment and advantage  
 ‘ to your people: but truth and necessity enforce us to  
 ‘ add this, that, even in or about the time of passing  
 ‘ those bills, some design or other hath been on foot,  
 ‘ which, if it had taken effect, would not only have de-  
 ‘ prived us of the fruit of those bills, but have reduced  
 ‘ us to a worse condition of confusion than that wherein  
 ‘ the parliament found us (o).’ This was a home (o) Parlia-  
 thrust. Milton, speaking on this subject, has the follow- mentary his-  
 ing passage: ‘ He [Charles] was also raising forces in tory, vol. x.  
 ‘ London, pretendedly to serve the Portugal, but with p. 376.  
 ‘ intent to seize the Tower; into which divers can-  
 ‘ noneers were by him sent, with many fireworks and  
 ‘ granadoes, and many great battering pieces were  
 ‘ mounted against the city. The court was fortified  
 ‘ with ammunition, and soldiers new listed, who fol-  
 ‘ lowed the king from London, and appeared at Kingston  
 ‘ some hundreds of horse in a warlike manner, with  
 ‘ waggons of ammunition after them: the queen in  
 ‘ Holland was buying more, of which the parliament  
 ‘ had certain knowledge, and had not yet so much as  
 ‘ demanded the militia to be settled, till they knew both  
 ‘ of her going over sea, and to what intent. For she  
 ‘ had packed up the crown-jewels to have been going  
 ‘ long before, had not the parliament, suspecting by the  
 ‘ discoveries at Barrowbridge what was intended with  
 ‘ the

shed. To such an unhappy state were we then

(p) Iconoclastes, 2d edit. p. 41; and Parliamentary history, vol. xi. p. 359.

‘ the jewels, used means to stay her journey till the winter. *Hull*, and the magazine there, had been secretly attempted under the king’s hand; from whom (though in his declarations renouncing all thought of war) notes were sent over sea for supply of arms, which were no sooner come, but the inhabitants of *Yorkshire* and other counties were called to arms, and actual forces raised, while the parliament were yet petitioning in peace, and had not one man listed (p).’ Those who are acquainted with the history of these times, know there is some truth in what is here asserted, and therefore will not wonder at the resolution of the parliament to hinder the king from executing his intentions. For, by the law of nature, all have a right to defend themselves, and to make use of the means in their power. Nor could it reasonably have been expected by *Charles*, that those who had been ruled by him without and against law, and whose destruction, as a free people, they were persuaded he still meditated, his promises notwithstanding: I say, it could not have been reasonably expected that people thus used, in times of extremity, should keep themselves within the exact bounds of law, and thereby defeat the end of the law, their preservation. Had *Charles* himself observed the laws to which he was sworn, and dealt sincerely in the concessions he had made in this parliament, he might have retained the power of the sword in his own hands; but when it was believed, upon very probable grounds, that he was, at heart, the same man he from the beginning of his reign had been; when those by whose care, industry, and public spirit he had been brought within bounds, were looked on with hatred by him, and marked out for destruction; when those who had counselled and advised him in his former illegal courses were the objects of his esteem and regard, and all this firmly believed by the managers in the two houses: are we to admire at, or blame their proceedings? It was human nature, and that not corrupted and depraved; but human nature as created

then reduced! However, the motives on which this war was entered into by the parliament, have by many been deemed most just and generous (UUU): though by others it

created by God himself, and as of right it ought to be, and as indeed it always will and must be, where it is not debased by vassalage and chains.

(UUU) *The motives on which the parliament entered into the war, have been deemed just and generous.*] Here are my authorities.—Lord Holles, who had borne so great a part in the transactions of these times, and had been so intimately acquainted with the prime managers in both houses, speaks as follows: ‘ When in the beginning of this parliament, in the year 1642, after some progress in a parliamentary way to the relieving of many of our grievances, and reforming many abuses both in church and state (for which we were not sufficiently thankful), it pleased God, in his just judgment, for the punishment of our sins, to send a spirit of division between king and parliament; and things grew to that height, as both of them appealed to the sword to plead their cause, and decide their quarrel: the members of parliament, who then engaged, declared themselves to desire nothing but the settlement of the kingdom, in the honour and greatness of the king, and in the happiness and safety of the people: and whensoever that could be obtained, to lay down the sword, and submit again to the king’s scepter of peace, more willingly than ever they resisted his force and power. This, I am sure, was the ultimate end of many; I may say, of the chiefest of those who at that time appeared: upon which principle they first moved, and from which they never departed; which made them at that time resolve to put their lives in their hands, and offer them a sacrifice to the welfare and happiness of their prince and country: I say, prince as well as country, though he perhaps looked on them as his greatest enemies; but they considered him as their prince, whom nature, duty,

it has been looked on as most base, wicked,  
and

(g) Holles's  
memoirs,  
P. 30.

' duty, the command of God, and the laws of men;  
' obliged them to reverence, and to love as the head  
' and father of the people, whose greatness consisted in  
' his people's, and his people's in his; and therefore  
' could be neither great nor happy, one without the  
' other, which made those faithful ones put them both  
' in the same ballance, and rather adventure his dis-  
' pleasure by promoting the public cause, than (as they  
' thought) his ruin by deserting it (g).' Lord Fairfax  
also plainly gives his reasons for engaging in the cause of  
the parliament. ' I must needs say my judgment was  
' for the parliament, as the king and kingdom's great  
' and safest council; as others were averse to parlia-  
' ments, because they did not go high enough for prero-  
' gative. Upon this division different powers were set  
' up: the *commission of array* for the king, and the *mili-  
tia* for the parliament. But those of the *array*, in op-  
' pressing many honest people, whom, by way of re-  
' proach, they called Roundheads; who, for their reli-  
' gion, estates, and interest, were a very considerable  
' part of the country; which occasioned them to take  
' up arms in their own defence, and it was afterwards  
' confirmed by authority of parliament (r).'

(r) Short  
memorials  
of Thomas  
lord Fairfax,  
P. 94, 12mo.  
Lond. 1699.

What the motives to this war on the parliament's  
side were, will still farther appear from the votes and  
other publick acts of that time. In the votes of the  
house of commons, assented to by the lords July 12,  
1642, we have the following ones:

' Resolved, That an army shall be forthwith raised  
' for the safety of the king's person, the defence of both  
' houses of parliament, and of those who have obeyed  
' their orders and commands; and for the preservation  
' of the true religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of  
' the kingdom.

' Resolved, That the earl of *Essex* be named general  
thereof.

' Resolved, That this house doth declare, that in this  
' cause, for the safety of the king's person, and the de-  
' fence

and rebellious, being undertaken against the royal

‘ fence of both houses of parliament, and of those who  
‘ have obeyed their orders and commands, &c. they  
‘ will live and die with the earl of *Essex*.’

‘ And when the speaker of the house of lords acquainted the earl of *Essex*, That that house had agreed  
‘ in the desires of the commons, and had approved of  
‘ his lordship to be general, the earl hereupon gave their  
‘ lordships thanks; professing his integrity and loyalty to  
‘ the king to be as much as any, and that he would live  
‘ and die with their lordships in this cause (s).’

(s) Parliamentary history, vol. xi. p. 238.

And in the declaration of the grounds and reasons which necessitated the parliament to take up defensive arms, in *August* following, speaking of what they had done with regard to the militia, the fleet, and *Hull*, it is added, ‘ And how necessary all this was to be done,  
‘ the succeeding designs and practices upon them do all  
‘ sufficiently manifest; and great cause hath the whole  
‘ kingdom to bless God, who put it into the heads and  
‘ hearts of the parliament to take care of these particulars: for were these pernicious persons about the king  
‘ masters of them, how easy would it be for them to  
‘ master the parliament, and master the kingdom? And  
‘ what could we expect but ruin and destruction from  
‘ such masters, who make the king revile and detest  
‘ us and our actions? Such, who have embarked him  
‘ in so many designs to overthrow this parliament? Such,  
‘ who have long thirsted to see religion and liberty confounded together?—Afterwards they appeal to the  
‘ world, whether it be not fit for them not only not to  
‘ yield to what is required [with regard to the militia,  
‘ &c.], but also to make further provision for the preservation of themselves, and of those who sent them hither,  
‘ and entrusted us, say they, with all they have, estates,  
‘ liberty, and life, and that which is the life of their  
‘ lives, their religion; and even for the safety of the  
‘ king’s person, now environed by those who carry him  
‘ upon his own ruin, and the destruction of all his  
‘ people; at least, to give them warning that all this is  
‘ in

royal authority; and therefore has been stiled,  
by

‘ in danger; that if the king may force this parliament,  
‘ they may bid farewell to all parliaments from ever re-  
‘ ceiving good by them; and if parliaments be lost, they  
‘ are lost, their laws are lost, as well those lately made  
‘ as in former times; all which will be cut in sunder  
‘ with the same sword now drawn for the destruction of  
‘ this parliament (t).’—The reader will please to re-  
‘ member, that the commons had before passed the fol-  
‘ lowing votes:

(t) Parlia-  
mentary his-  
tory, vol. xi.  
357.

‘ Resolved, upon the question, 20th of *May*, 1642,  
‘ 1. That it appears that the king, seduced by wicked  
‘ counsel, intends to make war against the parliament:  
‘ who, in all their consultations and actions, have pro-  
‘ posed no other end to themselves but the care of his  
‘ kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty  
‘ to his person.

‘ 2. Resolved, That whensoever the king maketh  
‘ war upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust  
‘ reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath,  
‘ and tending to the dissolution of this government.

‘ 3. Resolved, That whosoever shall serve or assist in  
‘ such wars, are traitors by the fundamental laws of this  
‘ kingdom; and have been so adjudged by two acts of  
‘ parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors; 11 *Rich.*

(u) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
iv. p. 717.

‘ II. 1 *Hen. IV.* (u).

If what is asserted by the parliament, in their own be-  
half, be true; if what the lords *Holles* and *Fairfax*, men  
of untainted honour and veracity, say, be fact; then was  
the war on the parliament's part merely defensive; and  
undertaken from the most generous motives. And it is  
very remarkable, that the parliament's taking up arms  
against *Charles I.* was justified by that very house of com-  
mons which restored his son *Charles II.*

For ‘ some exceptions being taken to some words  
‘ spoken by Mr. *Lenthall*, a member of the house, in  
‘ the debate of the bill of general pardon, to the effect  
‘ following, viz. “ He that drew his sword first against  
‘ the king, committed as high an offence as he that  
“ cut



by the same sort of men, by way of emphasis,

“ cut off the king’s head :” Mr. *Lenthall* standing up  
 “ in his place, explained himself, and withdrew. But it  
 “ was resolved he should be called to the bar: and the  
 “ serjeant, with the mace, went to Mr. *Lenthall*, who  
 “ was withdrawn into the speaker’s chamber, and  
 “ brought him to the bar; where kneeling, Mr. speaker  
 “ bid him rise, and after, according to the order of the  
 “ house, gave him a sharp reprehension, to the effect  
 “ following: “ The house hath taken very great offence  
 “ at some words you have let fall, upon debate of the  
 “ business of the bill of indemnity; which, in the  
 “ judgment of this house, hath as high a reflection on  
 “ the justice and proceedings of the lords and commons  
 “ in the last parliament, in their actings before the year  
 “ 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there  
 “ is much poison in the words, and that they were  
 “ spoken out of design to set this house on fire; they  
 “ tending to render them that drew the sword to bring  
 “ delinquents to condign punishment, and to vindicate  
 “ their just liberties, into ballance with them that cut off  
 “ the king’s head: of which act they express their ab-  
 “ horrence and detestation, appealing to God, and their  
 “ conscience bearing them witness, that they had no  
 “ thought against his person, much less against his life.  
 “ Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that  
 “ had these words fallen out at any other time but in  
 “ this parliament, or at any time in this present parliament  
 “ but when they had considerations of mercy, pardon,  
 “ and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper  
 “ and severer sentence, than I am now to pronounce.  
 “ But the disposition of his majesty is to mercy: he hath  
 “ invited his people to accept of it, and it is the disposi-  
 “ tion of the body of this house to be healers of the  
 “ breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all con-  
 “ ditions, so far as may stand with justice, and the justi-  
 “ fication of themselves before God and man. I am  
 “ therefore commanded to let you know, that that being  
 “ their disposition, and the present subject of this day’s  
 “ debate

phasis, the Great Rebellion: how justly, will merit our enquiry (www).

It

“ debate being mercy, you shall therefore taste of  
 “ mercy. Yet I am to give you a sharp reprehension,  
 “ and I do as sharply and severely as I can (for so I am  
 “ commanded) reprehend you for it (w).’

(w) Journal  
 of the 12th  
 day of May,  
 1660; apud  
 Maizeux's  
 life of Chil-  
 lingworth,  
 p. 304.

Nothing can be a stronger testimony to the justice and necessity of the proceedings of the lords and commons than this.

(www) *It has been styled the Great Rebellion: how justly, will merit our enquiry.*] This is so generally known, that few proofs are necessary.

In 1642, we find *Charles* issued ‘ a proclamation for  
 ‘ suppressing of the present rebellion, under the com-  
 ‘ mand of *Robert* earl of *Essex*.’ In this proclamation,  
 after reciting what had been done in pursuance of the  
 votes on the militia, and the other votes mentioned in  
 the two foregoing notes, he adds, ‘ We do now there-  
 ‘ fore publish and declare, That the said publick and  
 ‘ notorious acts and actions of high treason, being a  
 ‘ manifest levying of war against his natural liege, lord,  
 ‘ and king, expressly within the words and meaning of  
 ‘ the statute made in the 25th year of king *Edward* the  
 ‘ Third, declaring the same, of which in law there  
 ‘ neither is, nor can be, any doubt (x).’ This was the  
 public language of his majesty. We are not to wonder  
 then, that the ecclesiastics of his court copied after him,  
 and treated his opponents in like style. *Chillingworth*  
 himself, truly a great man as he was, could not refrain  
 from it. Hear his words.—‘ To come a little nearer to  
 ‘ the business of our times, the chief actors in this bloody  
 ‘ tragedy, which is now upon the stage, who have robbed  
 ‘ our sovereign lord the king of his forts, towns, trea-  
 ‘ sure, ammunition, houses, of the persons of many of  
 ‘ his subjects, and (as much as lies in them) of the  
 ‘ hearts of all of them: is it credible, that they know  
 ‘ and remember, and consider the example of *David*,  
 ‘ recorded for their instruction? whose heart smote  
 ‘ him,

(x) *Rush-*  
*worth*, vol.  
 iv. p. 769.

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to enter into the particulars of this war. Those who

him, when he had but cut off the hem of *Saul's* garment. They that make no scruple at all of fighting with his sacred majesty, and shooting muskets and ordinance at him (which sure have not the skill to choose a subject from a king), to the extream hazard of his sacred person, whom, by all possible obligations, they are bound to defend: do they know, think you, the general rule, without exception or limitation, left by the Holy Ghost for our direction in all such cases, "Who can lift up his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be innocent?" Or do they consider his command in the Proverbs of *Solomon*, "My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with them that desire change?" Or his counsel in the book of Ecclesiastes, "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God?" Or, because they may possibly pretend that they are exempted from, or unconcerned in, the commands of obedience delivered in the Old Testament, do they know and remember the precept given to all Christians by *St. Peter*, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him?" Or that terrible sanction of the same command, "They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation," left us by *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, who then were the miserable subjects of the worst king, the worst man, nay, I think, I may add truly, the worst beast in the world; that so all rebels mouths might be stopt for ever, and left without all colour or pretence whatsoever, to justify resistance of sovereign power. Undoubtedly, if they did know and consider, and lay close to their hearts, these places of scripture; or the fearful judgment which befell *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for this very sin which they now commit, and with a high hand still proceed in; it would be impossible but their hearts would smite them, as *David's* did upon an infinitely

who would know them, may consult the  
com-

(y) Sermon before the king at the end of the Religion of protestants, p. 6, fol. Lond. 1664.

‘ finitely less occasion, and affright them out of those ways of present confusion and eternal damnation (y).’

After the restoration of *Charles II.* in one of the public offices of devotion, this war is stiled the Great Rebellion; and in the parliament called by that prince in 1661, among many other acts tending to advance the regal and ecclesiastical authority, we find one declaring the sole right of the militia to be in the king: in the preamble to which, it is affirmed, that ‘ both or either of

(z) Stat. 13 Car. II. c. vi.

‘ the houses of parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; nor can nor lawfully may raise, or levy any war offensive or defensive against his majesty, his heirs, or lawful successors (z).’

And in the act for the well governing and regulating of corporations, the following oath was ordained:

(a) Stat. 13 Car. II. sess. 2, c. i. sect. 5.

‘ I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him: so help me God (a).’

(b) See history of passive obedience, 4to. p. 95; & passim Amsterdam, 1689.

So ready were these gentlemen to rivet chains on themselves and the nation! After this, nothing was heard of but the doctrine of passive obedience, and the damnable nature of resistance (b). And the man who spoke any thing in the defence of the parliament, against *Charles I.* was shrewdly suspected to be, in his heart, a rebel to his successor (c).

(c) See tryal of Stephen Colledge, p. 31, fol. Lond. 1681.

But a time at length came, in which men’s eyes were opened. *James II.* presuming that the nation had been lulled asleep by the declamations against resistance, attempted to perfect a scheme that his father and brother had failed in. He boldly acted contrary to the laws, and set at defiance the privileges of his people. He filled hereby with terror all orders and degrees of men, and put them on taking measures for their own security. They now saw the necessity of resistance; they in fact practised it, and were not at a loss to defend it by arguments irresistible. Such alterations are there in the opinions

common historians. Suffice it here to say,  
that

nions of the same men!——But to return. Notwithstanding all the assertions in these acts of parliament, and the declamations of ecclesiastics; there are those who insist on it that this war cannot be deemed a rebellion.

1. ‘ Those who seek after truth, says Mr. Sydney, will easily find, that there can be no such thing in the world as the rebellion of a nation against its own magistrates, and that rebellion is not always evil. That this may appear, it will not be amiss to consider the word, as well as the thing understood by it, as it is used in an evil sense. The word is taken from the Latin *rebellare*, which signifies no more than to renew a war. When a town or province had been subdued by the Romans, and brought under their dominion, if they violated their faith after the settlement of peace, and invaded their masters who had spared them, they were said to rebel. But it had been more absurd to apply that word to the people that rose against the *Decemviri*, kings or other magistrates, than to the *Parthians*, or any of those nations who had no dependance upon them; for all the circumstances that should make a rebellion were wanting, the word implying a superiority in them against whom it is, as well as the breach of an established peace. But though every private man, singly taken, be subject to the commands of the magistrate, the whole body of the people is not so; for he is by and for the people, and the people is neither by nor for him. The obedience due to him from private men, is grounded upon and measured by the general law; and that law, regarding the welfare of the people, cannot set up the interest of one or a few men against the publick. The whole body, therefore, of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their own judgment: and having never been subdued, or brought to terms of peace with their magistrates, they cannot be said to revolt or rebel against them, to whom they owe no more than seems good to them-

that the king erected his standard at *Nottingham*,

(d) Sydney  
of govern-  
ment, p.  
413, fol.  
Lond. 1698.

‘ selves, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more  
‘ than other men (d).’

2. ‘Tis asserted, ‘ That whosoever takes up arms to  
‘ maintain the politick constitution or government of his  
‘ country in the condition it then is, I mean, to defend it  
‘ from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of  
‘ any man (although it be in the prince or chief magis-  
‘ trate himself), provided that such taking up of arms be  
‘ commanded or authorized by those who are, by the  
‘ orders of that government, legally intrusted with the  
‘ custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of  
‘ the government; this I hold to be so far from rebel-  
‘ lion, that I believe it laudable, nay, the duty of every  
‘ member of such commonwealth: for he who fights to  
‘ support and defend the government he was born and  
‘ lives under, cannot deserve the odious name of rebel,  
‘ but he who endeavours to destroy it. If this be not  
‘ granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixed mon-  
‘ archies in the world—wherein the prince hath his  
‘ share, and the people their’s; which last, if they had  
‘ no means of recovering their rights, if taken from  
‘ them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the  
‘ same estate as if they had no title to them, but lived  
‘ under the empire of *Turky*, or of *Muscovy*. And since  
‘ they have no other remedy but by arms, and that it  
‘ would be of ill consequence to make every private man  
‘ judge when the rights of the people (to which they  
‘ have as lawful a claim as the prince to his) are invaded,  
‘ which would be apt to produce frequent and some-  
‘ times causeless tumults; therefore it hath been the  
‘ great wisdom of the founders of such monarchies to  
‘ appoint guardians to their liberty, which, if it be not  
‘ otherwise expressed, is and ought to be understood to  
‘ reside in the estates of the country; which, for that  
‘ reason (as also to exercise their share in the sovereign-  
‘ ty, as making laws, levying monies); are frequently  
‘ assembled.—These are to assert and maintain the or-  
‘ ders of the government, and the laws established,

*The LIFE of CHARLES I.* 371  
*tingham, with little encouragement, on the*  
*twenty-*

and (if it cannot be done otherwise) to arm the people, and to defend and repel the force that is upon them (e).

3. It is said, 'There is doubtless a true distinction to be made between a rebellion and a civil war: the first is notorious, when subjects take up arms against lawful governors, lawfully governing; but where a prince violates the established laws of the nation, raises taxes by his own authority, contrary to the known rules of the constitution, invades the liberties of his subjects by illegal imprisonments, unjust prosecutions, and other grievous oppressions, and persists in such arbitrary acts of government for a course of years; if a people can find no other means to preserve their most valuable interests, but by having recourse to the last remedy, and shall take up arms to compel such a prince to restore their rights, and reform his ill government; 'tis evident, from the histories of the civil wars of *France*, and other countries, that grave and impartial historians have not thought fit to treat this way of opposing the unlawful usurpation of princes with the odious name of rebellion; and 'tis observed, that our parliaments have had the caution, that in the acts passed after the restoration, in relation to the preceding war between the king and parliament, they would never give it the name of a rebellion; doubtless out of the consideration that it behoved them to keep up the sanction of the parliamentary authority; and that that war was authorized by a legal parliament, who had right to vindicate the liberty of the nation.'

'The names of reproach, which passed in these times, were Cavalier for those who sided with the king, and Roundheads for such as took part with the parliament: now if the intention of the latter were no other than to bring the evil counsellors to condign punishment, to prevail with the king to comply in a just settlement of their civil and religious liberties, and then to restore him to the regal state, under such limitations

(e) A passage omitted out of Machiavel's letter in vindication of himself and writings, at the end of Barlow's case of conscience, p. 39, 8vo. Lond. 1692.

twenty-fifth day of *August*, one thousand  
fix

(f) Faults  
on both  
sides, p. 7,  
8vo. Lond.  
1710.

(g) On go-  
vernment,  
p. 297.

‘ as might secure them from any future invasions of their  
‘ rights and privileges (and this, I believe, was the ge-  
‘ neral design of those that took up arms at first), I see  
‘ no reason why those Roundheads should lie under an  
‘ harder censure for what they acted at that time, than  
‘ may be imputed to ourselves for what we have done in  
‘ the late happy revolution, for the rescuing our laws and  
‘ religion from the violations of the late king *James* (f).’

4. Mr. *Locke* observes, ‘ That whosoever uses force  
‘ without right, as every one does in society, who does  
‘ it without law, puts himself into a state of war with  
‘ those against whom he so uses it; and in that state all  
‘ former ties are cancelled, all other rights cease, and  
‘ every one has a right to defend himself, and to resist  
‘ the aggressor (g).—Here, ’tis like, the common ques-  
‘ tion will be made, who shall be judge whether the  
‘ prince or legislative act contrary to their trust? This,  
‘ perhaps, ill-affected and factious men may spread  
‘ amongst the people, when the prince only makes use  
‘ of his due prerogative. To this I reply; the people  
‘ shall be judge: for who shall be judge whether his  
‘ trustee or deputy acts well, and according to the trust  
‘ reposed in him, but he who deposes him, and must,  
‘ by having deputed him, have a power to discard him  
‘ when he fails in his trust? If this be reasonable in par-  
‘ ticular cases of private men, why should it be other-  
‘ wise in that of the greatest moment, where the wel-  
‘ fare of millions is concerned, and also where the evil,  
‘ if not prevented, is greater, and the redress very diffi-  
‘ cult, dear, and dangerous?’

‘ But farther, this question (who shall be judge?)  
‘ cannot mean that there is no judge at all. For where  
‘ there is no judicature upon earth, to decide controver-  
‘ sies amongst men, God in heaven is judge. He alone,  
‘ ’tis true, is judge of the right; but every man is judge  
‘ for himself, as in all other cases, so in this, whether  
‘ another hath put himself into a state of war with him,  
‘ and whether he should appeal to the supream Judge, as  
‘ *Jephtha*



fix hundred and forty-two; and that the  
par-

‘ *Jephtha* did. If a controversy arise between a prince  
‘ and some of his people, in a matter where the law is  
‘ silent or doubtful, and the thing be of great conse-  
‘ quence, I should think the proper umpire, in such a  
‘ case, should be the body of the people. For in cases  
‘ where the prince hath a trust reposed in him, and is  
‘ dispensed from the common ordinary rules of the law;  
‘ there, if any men find themselves aggrieved, and thinks  
‘ the prince acts contrary to or beyond that trust, who  
‘ so proper to judge as the body of the people (who at  
‘ first lodged that trust in him) how far they meant it  
‘ should extend? But if the prince, or whoever they be  
‘ in the administration, decline that way of determina-  
‘ tion, the appeal then lies no where but to heaven.  
‘ Force between either persons, who have no known  
‘ superior upon earth, or which permits no appeal to a  
‘ judge on earth, being properly a state of war, wherein  
‘ the appeal lies only to heaven: and in that state the  
‘ injured party must judge for himself, when he will  
‘ think fit to make use of that appeal, and put himself  
‘ upon it (h).’

5. Mr. *Watson* takes notice, ‘ That the parliament of  
‘ *England* were always more wise and good, than to raise  
‘ armies against the kings who gave them no occasion  
‘ to do so; and I cannot, says he, but entertain this fa-  
‘ vourable opinion of that which began to sit in 1640.  
‘ There is nothing more true than that the king wanted  
‘ to govern by an arbitrary power: his whole actions  
‘ shewed it, and he could never be brought to depart  
‘ from this: either therefore his people must have sub-  
‘ mitted to the slavery, or they must have vindicated  
‘ their freedom openly; there was no middle way. But  
‘ should they have tamely received the yoke? No, surely;  
‘ for had they done so, they had deserved the worst of  
‘ evils; and the bitter effects thereof, in all probability,  
‘ had not only been derived to us but our posterity.  
‘ Happy *Britons*, that such a just and noble stand was  
‘ made! May the memories of those great patriots that

(b) Locke  
On govern-  
ment, p.  
306.

parliament raised an army, and constituted  
Robert

(i) Apology  
of the rev.  
John Wat-  
son, for his  
conduct on  
the 30th  
Jan. p. 36,  
Lond. 1756,  
8vo.

‘ were concerned in it, be ever dear to *Englishmen*; and  
‘ to all true *Englishmen* they will (i).’

These are the political considerations which are urged  
to manifest how improperly and absurdly this war is styled  
the Great Rebellion, even by men who applaud the re-  
volution, and justify the force made use of to accomplish  
it! Well, therefore, might a very ingenious writer say,  
‘ Strange! that the *English* nation, who glory in their  
‘ constitution as a limited monarchy, who have always  
‘ been extremely jealous of any incroachments on it,  
‘ and who dethroned by force of arms and banished the  
‘ son, for less breaches of the constitution than were  
‘ made by this unhappy father; should yet stigmatise that  
‘ just war, of the parliament with *Charles I.* with the  
‘ odious name of a rebellion: a war, by which alone  
‘ their expiring liberties were preserved, and their beloved  
‘ constitution snatched from the cruel arm of oppressive  
‘ and arbitrary power (k).’

(k) Essay  
towards at-  
taining a  
true idea of  
the charac-  
ter of  
*Charles I.*  
p. 157.

I have taken no notice of the objections urged from  
scripture by *Chillingworth*, and others. Those who  
would see their weakness, may consult *Hoadly's Measures*  
of Submission, and his other pieces in defence of the  
doctrine contained therein. The following quotation  
from *May*, will shew the reader at once, that they affect  
not the case in hand. ‘ That frequent naming of reli-  
‘ gion, as if it were the only quarrel, hath caused a great  
‘ mistake of the question in some, by reason of igno-  
‘ rance, in others of subtilty; whilst they wilfully mis-  
‘ take, to abuse the parliament's case, as, instead of  
‘ disputing whether the parliament of *England* lawfully  
‘ assembled, where the king virtually is, may by arms  
‘ defend the religion established by the same power, to-  
‘ gether with the laws and liberties of the nation, against  
‘ delinquents, detaining with them the king's seduced  
‘ person: they make it the question, whether subjects,  
‘ taken in a general notion, may make war against their  
‘ king for religion's sake (l).’

(l) History  
of the par-  
liament,  
p. 119.

*Robert Devereux*, earl of *Effex*, their commander in chief. However, it must not here be omitted, that though the war, in the beginning, was carried on with various success on both sides, yet, for the most part, the advantage fell to the king (xxx). This (and

(xxx) *For the most part, the advantage fell to the king.*] A few extracts from *May* will fully prove this, and at the same time give entertainment to the reader of taste and reflection.—‘ At the famous battle of *Edgbill*, says he, the great cause of *English* liberty (with a vast expence of blood and treasure) was tried, but not decided; which did therefore prove unhappy, even to that side which seemed victorious, the parliament army. For tho’ the king’s forces were much broken by it, yet his strength grew accidentally greater and more formidable than before; to whom it proved a kind of victory, not to be easily or totally overthrown. For the greatest gentlemen of divers counties began then to consider of the king, as one that in possibility might prove a conquerour against the parliament; and many of them, who before as neuters had stood at gaze, in hope that one quick blow might cleare the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came now in, and readily adhered to that side, where there seemed to be least fears, and greatest hopes, which was the king’s party; for on the parliament’s side the encouragements were only publicke, and nothing promised but the sure enjoyment of their native liberty; no particular honours, preferments, or estates of enemies: and, on the other side, no such total ruin could be threatned from a victorious parliament, being a body as it were of themselves, as from an incensed prince, and such hungry followers as usually go along with princes in those ways. And how much private interest will over sway publicke notions, books of history, rather than philosophy, will truly inform you;

(m) May's  
history of  
the parlia-  
ment, book  
iii. p. 29.

‘ for, concerning human actions and dispositions, there  
‘ is nothing under the sunne which is absolutely new (m).’  
—Speaking afterwards of the taking of *Reading* by lord  
*Essex*, and the discontents of the soldiers for want of pay,  
he adds, ‘ Then began a tide of misfortune to flow in  
‘ upon the parliament side, and their strength almost in  
‘ every place to decrease at one time; for during the  
‘ time of these six months, since the battle of *Keynton*,  
‘ until this present distress of the lord general’s army  
‘ about *Causum*, which was about the beginning of *May*,  
‘ the warre had gone on with great fury and heat, almost  
‘ thorow every part of *England*.—The lord general had  
‘ at that time intelligence that sir *Ralph Hopton* had  
‘ given a very great defeat to the parliament forces of  
‘ *Devonshire*, and that prince *Maurice* and marquesse  
‘ *Hartford* were designed that way, to possess themselves  
‘ wholly of the West (n).’—I will add but one passage

(n) Id. p.  
39.

more from this writer.—‘ Indeed, says he, the parliament  
‘ was then in a low ebbe; and before the end of that  
‘ *July*, 1643, they had no forces at all to keep the field;  
‘ their maine armies (as is before touched) being quite  
‘ ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve  
‘ a while those forts and towns which they then pos-  
‘ sessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, un-  
‘ lesse the fortune of the field should change. Thus  
‘ seemed the parliament to be quite sunk beyond any  
‘ hope of recovery, and was so believed by many men.  
‘ The king was possessed of all the westerne counties,  
‘ from the farthest part of *Cornwall*, and from thence  
‘ northward as far as the borders of *Scotland*. His ar-  
‘ mies were full and flourishing, free to march whither  
‘ they pleased, and enough to be divided for several ex-  
‘ ploits: one part was sent to take in *Exeter*, where the  
‘ earl of *Stamford* was shut up, not able longer to hold  
‘ the place. The king in person, with a gallant army,  
‘ designed his march towards *Gloucester*, the only con-  
‘ siderable town in those parts which the parliament  
‘ held (o).’—Mr. *Whitlock* agrees with *May* in his ac-

(o) Id. p.  
89.

‘ count

occasioned by ill success, desertions, and divisions among themselves), as it caused his majesty to speak in a high tone (YYY) to them;

count of the weakness of the parliament about this time (p). Such an unexpected run of success had Charles in the beginning! For who could have thought that a prince, who had acted the part he had done, could make head, by means of the people, against their own representatives, whom they had highly esteemed, and looked on as their saviours? But the nobility, whose interest is closely connected with the crown; the prelates and their dependants, whose power and wealth were cut short by the parliament; and some superstitious notions with regard to the authority of kings and priests; these things, I say, with the divisions among the leading men in the houses, and the great contributions they raised on their party, alienated many from them, and from the cause of public liberty they had engaged in.

(YYY) *His advantages caused him to speak in a high tone.*] Prosperity is a dangerous state to most. Few have wisdom enough to behave in it with moderation, decency, and a regard to futurity. It excites generally a foolish elation of heart, which produces woes innumerable. Such an effect it had on Charles, who hardly knew how to bear the good fortune which is mentioned in the preceding note. On the 24th of June, 1643, when all things went well with his majesty, the lord Say and Sele acquainted the lords, that he had received a letter from the king, in which was inclosed a proclamation from his majesty, which was read. In this proclamation, after mentioning every thing done by the parliament, since his leaving *Westminster*, in the most reproachful terms, he says, 'Tis time now to let our good subjects know, that they may no longer look upon the votes and actions of the persons now remaining, as upon our two houses of parliament; freedom and liberty to be present, and of opinion and debate there, being essential to a parliament; which freedom and liberty all men must confess to be taken away from this

(p) *Memo-  
rials*, p. 73.

them, and his subjects in general, so it also

occa-

‘ this assembly:—that at this time we and the major part  
 ‘ of both houses are kept, by a strong and rebellious  
 ‘ army, from being present at that council; and that  
 ‘ those who are present are, by the same army, awed and  
 ‘ forced to take unlawful and treasonable protestations to  
 ‘ engage their votes: and that such resolutions and di-  
 ‘ rections, which concern the property and liberty of  
 ‘ the subjects, are transacted and concluded by a few  
 ‘ persons, (under the name of a close committee, con-  
 ‘ sisting of the earl of *Manchester*, the lord *Say*, Mr. *Pym*,  
 ‘ Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Stroud*, Mr. *Martyn*, and others,  
 ‘ the whole number not exceeding the number of seven-  
 ‘ teen persons) without reporting the same to the houses,  
 ‘ contrary to the express law and customs of parliament.

‘ All these, for the matter of fact, we are ready to  
 ‘ make proof of, and desire nothing but to bring the  
 ‘ contrivers of all the aforesaid mischiefs to their tryal by  
 ‘ law; and till that be submitted to, we must pursue  
 ‘ them by arms, or any other way, in which our good  
 ‘ subjects ought to give us assistance to that purpose.—  
 ‘ And that all the world may see how willing and de-  
 ‘ sirous we are to forget all the injuries and indignities  
 ‘ offered to us, by such as have been misled through  
 ‘ weakness or fear, or who have not been the principal  
 ‘ contrivers of the present miseries; we do offer a free  
 ‘ and general pardon to all the members of either house,  
 ‘ (except Robert earl of *Essex*, Robert earl of *Warwick*,  
 ‘ Edward earl of *Manchester*, Henry earl of *Stamford*,  
 ‘ William viscount *Say* and *Sele*, sir John *Hotham*, knight  
 ‘ and baronet, sir Arthur *Haselrig*, bart. sir Henry *Lud-*  
 ‘ *low*, sir Edward *Hungerford*, and sir Francis *Popham*,  
 ‘ knights; Nathaniel *Fiennes*, John *Hampden*, John *Pym*,  
 ‘ William *Stroud*, Henry *Martyn*, and Alexander *Popham*,  
 ‘ esquires; Isaac *Pennington*, alderman of *London*, and  
 ‘ captain *Ven*; who, being the principal authors of these  
 ‘ present calamities, have sacrificed the peace and prospe-  
 ‘ rity of their country to their own pride, malice, and  
 ‘ ambition; and against whom we shall proceed, as  
 ‘ against

occasioned uneasiness in his friends (zzz),  
(those

‘ against persons guilty of high treason by the known  
‘ laws of the land ; and shall, in the proceeding, be  
‘ most careful to preserve to them all priviledges in the  
‘ fullest manner that, by the law or usage of former  
‘ times, is due to them) if they shall, within ten days  
‘ after the publishing this our proclamation, return to  
‘ their duty and allegiance to us.

‘ And, lastly, we further command and enjoin all our  
‘ subjects, upon their allegiance to us, as they will an-  
‘ swer the contrary to Almighty God, and as they desire  
‘ that they and their posterity should be freed from the  
‘ foul taint of high treason, and as they tender the peace  
‘ of this kingdom, that they presume not to give any  
‘ assistance to the before mentioned rebellious armies, in  
‘ their persons or estates, in any sort whatsoever ; but  
‘ join with us, according to their duty and the laws of  
‘ the land, to suppress this horrid rebellion.

‘ And our pleasure and command is, that this our pro-  
‘ clamation be read in all churches and chapels within  
‘ this our kingdom (q).’

(q) Parlia-  
mentary his-  
tory, vol.  
xii. p. 303—

Such was the haughty tone in which *Charles* spoke, when successful ; a tone which indicated very clearly his sentiments, and shewed his adversaries what they had to trust to. Whether in this he acted a politic part, the reader will determine.

(zzz) *The advantages gained by Charles, occasioned uneasiness in his friends.*] Among those noblemen and gentlemen that adhered to the royal cause, there were many true patriots, who wished for nothing more than a peace on a good foundation ; i. e. a peace whereby the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the subject, might both be preserved and secured for the future. They no more wished to see the parliament crushed by the king, than the king by the parliament, and therefore were uneasy when his majesty seemed to be in a situation to give the law to them at his pleasure.—The following passages in the earl of *Sunderland*’s letters, who lost his life in the battle of *Newbury*, fighting for *Charles*, will give the reader some light

(those of them who had the interest of their  
coun-

light into the sentiments of part of those who zealously adhered to him. In a letter to his lady, dated *Shrewsbury*, Sept. 21, 1642, we have the following account.

‘ My dearest hart,

‘ The king’s condition is much improved of late:  
‘ his force increaseth daily, which increaseth the info-  
‘ lency of the papists. How much I am unsatisfied with  
‘ the proceedings here, I have at large exprest in se-  
‘ veral letters. Neither is there wanting daily, hand-  
‘ some occasion to retire, were it not for grinning ho-  
‘ nour. For let occasion be never so handsome, unless  
‘ a man were resolved to fight on the parliament side,  
‘ which, for my part, I had rather be hanged, it will be  
‘ said without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If  
‘ there could be an expedient found, to salve the puncti-  
‘ lio of honour, I would not continue here an hour.  
‘ The discontent that I and other honest men receive  
‘ daily, is beyond expression. People are much divided:  
‘ the king is of late very much averse to peace, by the  
‘ persuasions of 202 and 111. It is likewise conceived,  
‘ that the king has taken a resolution not to do any thing  
‘ in that way before the queen comes; for people ad-  
‘ vising the king to agree with the parliament, was the  
‘ occasion of the queen’s return. Till that time, no  
‘ advice will be received; nevertheless, the honest men  
‘ will take all occasions to procure an accommodation;  
‘ which the king, when he sent those messages, did  
‘ heartily desire; and would still make offers in that way,  
‘ but for 202, 111, and the expectation of the queen,  
‘ and the fear of the papists, who threaten people of  
‘ 342: I fear 243. [papists] threats have a much greater  
‘ influence upon 83 [king] than upon 343. What the  
‘ king’s intentions are, to those that I converse with, are  
‘ altogether unknowne: some say he will hazard a bat-  
‘ tle very quickly; others say he thinks of wintering;  
‘ which as it is suspected, so if it were generally believed,  
‘ 117 [*Sunderland*] and many others, would make no  
‘ scruple to retire; for I think it as farr from gallant  
‘ either



country at heart), and caused them to press  
him

‘ either to starve with the king, or to do worse; as, to  
‘ avoid fighting (r).’

(r) Sydney’s  
state-papers,  
vol. ii. p.  
667.

In another letter to her, written soon after, he says,  
‘ If the king, or rather 243 [papists] prevail, we are in  
‘ a sad condition; for they will be insupportable to all,  
‘ but most to us who have opposed them; so that if the  
‘ king prevails by force, I must not live at home, which  
‘ is grievous to me, but more to you; but if —, I ap-  
‘ prehend I shall not be suffered to live in *England*: and  
‘ yet, I cannot fancy any way to avoid both; for the king  
‘ is so awed by 243 [papists], that he dares not propose  
‘ peace, or accept: I fear though, by his last message, he  
‘ is engaged. But if, that be offered by the parliament,  
‘ I and others will speak their opinion, though by that,  
‘ concerning the treaty, were threatened by 243 [papists],  
‘ who caused 99 to be commanded by the king, upon his  
‘ allegiance to returne against his will, he being too  
‘ powerful for 102, 111, and by whom *England* is now  
‘ likely to be governed.—I hear 116 [*Leicester*] has re-  
‘ fused to shew his instructions to the parliament, without  
‘ the king’s leave, which resolution I hope he will not  
‘ alter, lest it should be prejudicial to him; for the king  
‘ is in so good a condition at this time, that if the par-  
‘ liament would restore all his right, unless the parlia-  
‘ ment will deliver up to a legal trial all those persons  
‘ named in his long —, and some others, he will not  
‘ hearken to peace (s).’

(s) Id. p.  
668.

These letters, written by so eminently loyal a person,  
will, I believe, easily induce the reader to believe the  
truth of lord *Holland*’s and sir *Edward Dering*’s declarations  
of their motives for returning to the parliament, viz. the  
prevalency of the popish party with the king, which had  
brought about a cessation with the *Irish* rebels, and  
threatened the protestant religion in *England* (t): though  
lord *Clarendon*, without denying the fact, censures lord  
*Holland* for publishing his declaration, ‘ as an act very  
‘ unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature;  
‘ and an action contrary to his own natural discretion  
‘ and

(t) Rush-  
worth, vol.  
v. p. 368,  
384.

him more to peace, than was agreeable to his own inclinations.

But

- (\*) Vol. iii. p. 367. ‘ and generosity (u).’—Lord *Sunderland*, in his first letter, observes, that ‘ the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation.’ Of this number was the excellent lord *Falkland*, secretary of state to *Charles*, who lost his life in the same battle with *Sunderland*. ‘ In the morning of the fight, says *Whitlock*, he ‘ called for a clean shirt, and being asked the reason of ‘ it, answered, that if he were slain in the battle, they ‘ should not find his body in foul linnen. Being dis- ‘ swaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no ‘ call to it, and being no military officer, he said he was ‘ weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his ‘ own country, and did believe he should be out of it ‘ ere night, and could not be perswaded to the contrary, ‘ but would enter into the battle, and was there ‘ slain (w).’ The misery he had in view could not be from the parliament; for their affairs were far enough from being in a condition to give terror, though the siege of *Glooucester* was raised by the ability and courage of *Essex*. And *Charles* himself, in a letter to his queen, dated *Oxford*, Dec. 1644, tells her, ‘ that all, even his ‘ party, were strangely impatient for peace (\*).’ And in another letter, dated *Oxford*, Dec. 15, 1644, O. S. we have the following passage. ‘ I confess in some respects, ‘ thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon, ‘ to *London*; for, indeed, some amongst us had a greater ‘ mind that way than was fit: of which persuasion ‘ *Percy* is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see ‘ thee; of whom having said this, is enough to show ‘ thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee, con- ‘ cerning our proceedings here (y).’ And in a letter to her, in the *March* following, he writes thus from the same place: ‘ What I told thee last week, concerning a ‘ good parting with our lords and commons here, was on ‘ *Monday* last handsomely performed: and now if I do ‘ any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or ‘ friends,

(w) P. 73, and *Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 358.

(x) King *Charles's* works, p. 143.

(y) Id. p. 148.

But the prosperity of *Charles*. being of no long continuance, he lowered his note (AAAA), deigned to treat his parliament with

‘ friends, in order to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault: For I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to be pressed to make some meane overtures to renew the treaty, knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose (z).’

(z) King Charles's works, p. 150.

Whoever will compare and consider the several things recited in this note, will probably be convinced that his majesty designed totally to subdue his opponents, or, at least, to bring them to such terms as might render them for ever incapable of opposing his measures. This seems to have been his intention; the apprehension of which induced the honest men of his party to press him, in the manner they did, to come to a peace, that so the people might be free, and he and themselves secure.

(AAAA) *The prosperity of Charles being of no long continuance, he lowered his note, &c.*] The events of the war need not here be particularised. All that is necessary is to observe, that after the siege of *Gloucester*, things for the most part went but ill on the king's side; though sometimes he obtained advantages over his adversaries. But the loss of the battle of *Naseby*, June 14, 1645, entirely turned the balance against his majesty, and left him in a weak condition. ‘ It hath pleased God,’ says he, in a letter to the marquis of *Ormond*, dated *Cardiffe*, July 31, 1645, ‘ by many successive misfortunes, to reduce my affairs of late from a very prosperous condition to so low an ebb, as to be a perfect trial of all men's integrity to me (a).’

(a) Parliamentary history, vol. xiv. p. 93.

And in a letter of the same date to prince *Rupert*, he has the following expression: ‘ I confess, speaking either as a meer soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin (b).’ *Charles*, however, made some efforts still in the field; but they were weak and ineffectual. He had nothing now to do but to enter into a negotiation for peace with the parliament; and this

(b) Id. p. 95.

with some degree of respect, and solicited

this he did in a manner different from what he was wont. Formerly he would not allow the title of parliament to the two houses, but in his messages sent, stiled them the lords and commons of parliament assembled at *Westminster*; but he now, without scruple, addressed them as the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of *England at Westminster (c).*

(c) Parliamentary history, vol. xiv. p. 143.

His alteration of stile was as remarkable as his change of address. Having, by a message of Dec. 5, 1645, desired a safe-conduct for some commissioners to treat in his name concerning peace, and receiving not an immediate answer, he, on the 15th, renewed his application in the following words:

‘ For the speaker of the house of peers *pro tempore*.

‘ C. R.

‘ His majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after  
 ‘ so many expressions on your part of a deep and seeming  
 ‘ sense of the miseries of this afflicted kingdom, and of  
 ‘ the dangers incident to his person during the continuance of this unnatural war, your many great and so  
 ‘ often repeated protestations, that the raising these arms  
 ‘ hath been only for the necessary defence of God’s true  
 ‘ religion, his majesty’s honour, safety, and prosperity,  
 ‘ the peace, comfort, and security of his people; you  
 ‘ should delay a safe-conduct to the persons mentioned  
 ‘ in his majesty’s message of the 5th of this instant *December*, which are to be sent unto you with propositions  
 ‘ for a well-grounded peace: a thing so far from having  
 ‘ been at any time denied by his majesty, whensoever  
 ‘ you have desired the same, that he believes it hath been  
 ‘ seldom (if ever) practised among the most avowed and  
 ‘ professed enemies, much less from subjects to their  
 ‘ king. But his majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make him fail of his part, in  
 ‘ doing his uttermost endeavours to put an end to these  
 ‘ calamities, which, if not in time prevented, must  
 ‘ prove the ruin of this unhappy nation: and therefore  
 ‘ doth once again desire, that a safe-conduct may be  
 ‘ forth-

cited them again and again for peace. But his

forthwith sent for those persons expressed in his former message; and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when he shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnatural war, as you tender the preservation and establishment of the true religion, by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to your king, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy country, and of charity to yourselves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his majesty, to set a speedy end to these waiting divisions; and then he shall not doubt but that God will again give the blessing of peace to this distracted kingdom (d).

(d) King Charles's works, p. 548.

No safe-conduct being produced by this, the king, on the 26th of the same month, sent a message to both houses with propositions, wherein he desired a personal treaty with them at *Westminster*; and, as a preliminary, offered to settle the militia, for a certain time, in such hands as he thought would be unexceptionable.—In answer to these messages, the houses plainly told him, that they finding that former treaties have been made use of for other ends, under the pretence of peace, and have proved dilatory and unsuccessful, cannot give way to a safe-conduct, according to your majesty's desire: but both houses of the parliament of *England*, having now under their consideration propositions and bills for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace, which are speedily to be communicated to the commissioners of the kingdom of *Scotland*, to resolve, after mutual agreement of both kingdoms, to present them with all speed to your majesty (e).—Notwithstanding this, on the 29th, he returned what follows:

(e) Id. p. 550.

C. R.

Although the message sent by sir *Peter Killebrew* may justly require an expostulatory answer, yet his majesty lays that aside, as not so proper for his present endeavours; leaving all the world to judge, whether his

C c

propo-

his expectations not being answered, and  
his

‘ proposition for a personal treaty, or the flat denial of  
‘ a safe-conduct for persons to begin a treaty, be greater  
‘ signs of a real intention to peace; and shall now only  
‘ insist upon his former message of the 26th of this De-  
‘ cember, that upon his repair to *Westminster*, he doubts  
‘ not but so to join his endeavours with his two houses  
‘ of parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not only  
‘ concerning the business of *Ireland*, but also for the  
‘ settling of a way for the payment of the publick debts,  
‘ as well to the *Scots* and the city of *London* as others.  
‘ And as already he hath shewn a fair way for the settling  
‘ of the militia, so he shall carefully endeavour, in all  
‘ other particulars, that none shall have cause to com-  
‘ plain for want of security, whereby just jealousies may  
‘ arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace.  
‘ And certainly this proposition of a personal treaty could  
‘ never have entered into his majesty’s thoughts, if he  
‘ had not resolved to make apparent to the world, that  
‘ the publick good and peace of this kingdom is far dearer  
‘ to him, than the respect of any particular interest.  
‘ Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a  
‘ manifest demonstration that he particularly envies his  
‘ majesty should be the chief author in so blessed a work,  
‘ besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the  
‘ happy peace of these nations. To conclude, who-  
‘ ever will not be ashamed that his fair and specious pro-  
‘ testations should be brought to a true and publick test,  
‘ and those who have a real sense, and do truly com-  
‘ miserate the miseries of their bleeding country, let  
‘ them speedily and chearfully embrace his majesty’s  
‘ proposition for his personal treaty at *Westminster*,  
‘ which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to  
‘ these now distracted kingdoms restore the happiness of  
‘ a long wished-for and lasting peace (f).’

(f) King  
Charles’s  
works, p.  
550.

I will only add a passage or two more from his message  
to both houses from *Southwell*, May 18, 1646.—‘ His  
‘ majesty, being certainly informed that the armies were  
‘ marching so fast up to *Oxford*, as made that no fit place  
‘ for

his misfortunes indreasing, he threw himself

for treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this war any longer, or to make any division between his two kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his progenitors.—After this follow some propositions concerning religion, the militia, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and then it is added, ‘If these be not satisfactory, his majesty then desires, that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both kingdoms, may be speedily sent unto him; his majesty being resolved to comply with his parliament in every thing that shall be for the happiness of his subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences which have produced so many sad effects (g).’

How different is this from the language made use of in the note (YYY)! How calculated to inspire trust and confidence, as well as to move compassion! Had the king talked in this manner formerly, and acted accordingly, he might have been a king indeed: had he complied with the parliament in every thing that was for the happiness of his subjects, he might have avoided all his misfortunes. But he resolved on this too late, if indeed he sincerely resolved it, and thereby lost the benefit of his good intentions. For men’s vows in calamity are little regarded; it being customary at that season to make them, and as customary when set at ease to break them. More especially, when men are known to be not over-stocked with sincerity, they cannot, with reason, at such an hour, expect immediately to be relied on. For the impressions made on the minds of spectators by a long course of actions, are not easily erased. Time, and a different conduct, alone can do it.—However, this behaviour of *Charles*, so very different from that he had used towards the parliament in times past, was not wholly unserviceable to him, as we shall soon see. For many are to be wrought on by fair

(g) King Charles’s works, p. 559.

self into the hands of the Scots, who, as it is well known, departing into their country, left him, with the commissioners appointed by the parliament to receive him, at *Holdenby*. From hence he was taken by *Joyce*, and put into the power of the army.

The negotiations for peace were continued, notwithstanding, with him; and he might have had reasonable good terms (BBB), his condition considered, from the army or the parliament; but he absolutely refused to

speeches, and a gentle insinuating behaviour, who are proof against threats and ill usage.

(BBB) *The negotiations for peace were continued with him, and he might have had reasonable good terms, &c.* Though Charles by all his messages could not procure a personal treaty, yet there never were wanting those in the two houses who were willing to agree with him on what they looked on as prudent and reasonable terms. After the message from *Southwell*, he removed with the Scots to *Newcastle*, where a treaty with him was carried on by the two houses, for a safe and well-grounded peace; but it came to nothing, through his stiffness and obstinacy. When at *Holmby*, it is well known that great court was paid to him by the chiefs of the army: this gave him consequence in his own eyes, and made him refuse to listen to terms, which were far enough from being hard, his circumstances considered (b). His circumstances, I say, considered. For as he had engaged in a war, and had been unsuccessful, it could not be expected but that he must have terms imposed on him, and be well contented with a less degree of power than he had formerly enjoyed. But his majesty was inflexible, as appears from sir *John Berkley's* relation, in *Ludlow*, 'Major *Huntington*, one of the king's confidants, says he, brought two general officers to sir *John Berkley*, by or-  
der

(b) See *Ludlow*, vol. ii. p. 195, 285; *Clarendon*, vol. v. p. 50, 73; and *K. Charles's* works, p. 578.



to accept of them. This his enemies attributed

der of the king, recommending them to him as persons upon whom he might rely: these two had frequent conferences with sir *John Berkley*, and assured him, that a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators; and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were great dissemblers, if they were not real in it: but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the king. They acquainted him also, that proposals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein episcopacy was not required to be abolished; nor any of the king's party wholly ruined; nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; advising that the king would with all expedition agree to them, there being no assurance of the army, which they had observed already to have changed more than once. To this end, they brought him to commissary-general *Ireton*, with whom he continued all night debating upon the proposals before mentioned, altering two of the articles, as he saith himself in the manuscript; in the most material points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the exclusion of seven persons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admission of the king's party to sit in the next parliament; *Ireton* told him, that there must be a distinction made between the conquerors and those that had been beaten, and that he himself should be afraid of a parliament where the king's party had the major vote. In conclusion, conjuring sir *John Berkley*, as he tendered the king's welfare, to endeavour to procure his consent to the proposals; that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. *Cromwell* appeared, in all his conferences with sir *John Berkley*, most zealous for a speedy agreement with the king, inasmuch that he sometimes complained of his son *Ireton's* slowness in perfecting the proposals,

buted to stiffness, himself and his friends to  
con-

‘ and his unwillingness to come up to his majesty’s sense:  
‘ at other times he would wish that sir *John Berkley* would  
‘ act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow  
‘ principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army  
‘ would not persist in their good intentions towards the  
‘ king.

‘ During these transactions, the army marched from  
‘ about *Reading* to *Bedford*, and the king with his usual  
‘ guard to *Woburn*, a house belonging to the earl of *Bed-*  
‘ *ford*; where the proposals of the army were brought  
‘ to him to peruse, before they were offered to him in  
‘ publick. He was much displeased with them in general,  
‘ saying, that if they had any intention to come to an  
‘ accommodation, they would not impose such condi-  
‘ tions on him: to which sir *John Berkley*, who brought  
‘ them to him, answered, that he should rather suspect  
‘ they designed to abuse him, if they had demanded less;  
‘ there being no appearance that men, who, through so  
‘ many dangers and difficulties, acquired such advan-  
‘ tages, would content themselves with less than was  
‘ contained in the said proposals; and that a crown so  
‘ near lost, was never recovered so easily as this would  
‘ be, if things were adjusted upon these terms. But  
‘ the king being of another opinion, replied, that they  
‘ could not subsist without him, and that therefore he  
‘ did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend  
‘ farther, making his chief objections against the three  
‘ following points: 1. The exclusion of seven persons  
‘ from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party  
‘ from being elected members of the next ensuing par-  
‘ liament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned con-  
‘ cerning church-government. To the first it was an-  
‘ swered, that when the king and the army were agreed,  
‘ it would not be impossible to make them remit in that  
‘ point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the  
‘ king was restored to his power he might easily supply  
‘ seven persons, living beyond the seas, in such a manner  
‘ as to make their banishment supportable. To the  
‘ second,

conscience, honor, and prudence; which is  
most

second, that the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the people, and that it would be an happiness to the king's party to have no hand therein. To the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and that it was a great point gained to reduce men, who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in that matter. But the king, breaking away from them, said, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long, to accept of more equal terms."

About this time Mr. *Ashburnham* arrived, to the king's great contentment; and his instructions referring to sir *John Berkley's*, which they were to prosecute jointly, sir *John* gave him what light he could into the state of affairs: but he soon departed from the methods proposed by sir *John Berkley*, and entirely complying with the king's humour, declared openly, that having always used the best company, he could not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but that they would be able to command their own army; and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the guard that waited on the king; and not long after, a close correspondence with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, messages daily passing from the king to the head quarters. With these encouragements, and others from the presbyterian party, the lord *Lauderdale*, and divers of the city of *London*, assuring the king that they would oppose the army unto the death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the proposals were sent to him, and his concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great astonishment not only of *Ireton* and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter language, saying, that no man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of *Strafford*: which though it must be confessed to have been an unworthy act in him,

most probable, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

New

all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time, to mention it; and that he would have the church established according to law, by the proposals. To which those of the army replied, that it was not their work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to waive the point; and they hoped for the king too, he having already consented to the abolition of the episcopal government in Scotland. The king said he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, repeating frequently these or the like words, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you." This manner of carriage from the king being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and, at least in appearance, were promoters of the agreement, sir John Berkley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the king, and stepping to him, said in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also." Whereupon the king began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse: but it was too late; for col. Rainborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners, and proposals had found with the king (i).

(i) Ludlow, vol. i. p. 202.

(k) History of the troubles of Great Britain, p. 301, 309.

Monteth's account is to the same purpose, and nearly in the same words (k). And that there is great probability of the army's being well inclined towards the king at this time, appears from a letter of sir Thomas Fairfax, to the speakers of both houses, dated Reading, July 8, 1647. In this letter he says, "Our desires concerning a just consideration and settlement of the king's rights, his majesty first giving his concurrence to settle and secure the rights and liberties of the kingdoms, we have already

New commotions arising in various parts  
of the kingdom in behalf of his majesty,  
and

‘ already publicly declared in our representation and re-  
‘ monstrance. Since the first of those papers sent to the  
‘ parliament, there have been several officers of the  
‘ army, upon several occasions, sent to his majesty; the  
‘ first to present to him a copy of the representation, and  
‘ after that some others to tender him a copy of the re-  
‘ monstrance; upon both which, the officers sent were  
‘ appointed to clear the sense and intention of any thing  
‘ in either paper, whereupon his majesty might make any  
‘ question. Since then there have been also, some offi-  
‘ cers, at several times, sent to his majesty about his re-  
‘ move from *Hatfield*; to dissuade, if possible, from  
‘ *Windsor*, or any place so near *London*, to some place  
‘ of further distance, answerable to what we had desired  
‘ of the parliament. In all which, addresses to his ma-  
‘ jesty, we care not who knows what hath been said or  
‘ done; for, as we have nothing to bargain for, or ask  
‘ either, from his majesty or the parliament, for advan-  
‘ tage to ourselves, or any particular party or interest of  
‘ our own; so, in all those addresses to his majesty, we  
‘ have utterly disclaimed and disavowed any such things,  
‘ or any overtures or thoughts tending that way; but the  
‘ only intent and effect of those our addresses, hath been  
‘ to desire and endeavour his majesty’s free concurrence  
‘ with the parliament, for establishing and securing the  
‘ common rights and liberties, and settling the peace of  
‘ the kingdom; and to assure him, that (the publick  
‘ being so provided for, with such his majesty’s concur-  
‘ rence) it is fully agreeable to our principles, and should  
‘ be our desires and endeavours, that (with and in such  
‘ settling of the publick) the rights of his majesty’s royal  
‘ family should be also provided for, so, as a lasting peace  
‘ and agreement might be settled in this nation; and  
‘ that, as we had publicly declared for the same in ge-  
‘ neral terms, so, if things come to a way of settlement,  
‘ we should not be wanting in our spheres to own that  
‘ general desire, in any particulars, of natural or civil  
‘ right

and strong desires after peace prevailing,  
the

(l) Parliamentary history, vol. xvi. p. 102.

‘right of his majestie’s person, which might not prejudice or again endanger the publick; and, in the meantime, that his majesty should find all personal civilities and respects from us, with all reasonable freedom that might stand with safety, and with the trust or charge lying upon us concerning his person (l).’—It appears then, that the army was inclined towards the king about this time, and that he might have had from them tolerable conditions. These he refused to consent unto, till making his escape into the isle of *Wight*, the parliament, under the influence of the army, presented unto him, Dec. 24, 1647, four bills, together with propositions, which, upon passing these bills, were to be treated upon. These bills were entituled,

1. An act concerning the raising, settling, and maintaining forces by sea and land, within the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, &c.—This divested his majesty of the power of the militia for twenty years, and placed it in the parliament: afterwards it was not to be exercised without the authority of the houses.

2. An act for justifying the proceedings of parliament in the late war, and for declaring all oaths, declarations, proclamations, and other proceedings against it, to be void.

3. An act concerning peers lately made, and hereafter to be made. By this all peerages, granted since the 20th of *May*, 1642, were declared void; and all such as were for the future to be conferred, without consent of parliament, were enacted to be of no force, with respect to sitting and voting in parliament.

4. An act concerning the adjournment of both houses of parliament. This gave them liberty to adjourn when and where they pleased, without making an end or determining any session of the then parliament (m).’

(m) King Charles’s works, p. 590.

His majesty, in answer to these bills and the propositions that accompanied them, declared, ‘That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his majesty hath so long suffered, nor  
the

the parliament once more entered into a treaty

‘ the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his  
 ‘ two houses shall not afford him a personal treaty, shall  
 ‘ make him change his resolution of not consenting to  
 ‘ any act till the whole peace be concluded ; yet then he  
 ‘ intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction  
 ‘ in the particulars presented to him, but also to make  
 ‘ good all other concessions mentioned in his message of  
 ‘ the 16th of *November* last, which he thought would  
 ‘ have produced better effects than what he finds in the  
 ‘ bills and propositions now presented unto him. And  
 ‘ yet his majesty cannot give over, but now again ear-  
 ‘ nestly presseth for a personal treaty (so passionately is he  
 ‘ affected with the advantages which peace will bring to  
 ‘ his majesty and all his subjects) ; of which he will not  
 ‘ at all despair (there being no other visible way to obtain  
 ‘ a well-grounded peace). However, his majesty is very  
 ‘ much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the  
 ‘ offices both of a christian and of a king ; and will pa-  
 ‘ tiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to in-  
 ‘ cline the hearts of his two houses to consider their king,  
 ‘ and to compassionate their fellow-subjects miseries (n).’

(n) King  
 Charles's  
 works, p.  
 595.

There seems somewhat very philosophic in this reply. But the reader may possibly be able to account for the spirit of it, when he is informed that the king was meditating an escape from *Carisbrook* ; had made a treaty with the *Scots*, who soon openly invaded *England* on his behalf, in which they were joined by the presbyterians and cavaliers in *England*, which produced the second civil war, and ended fatally with respect to most of those who excited it.—To return:—No sooner had the king's answer been read and considered by the houses, but they set forth the following declaration and resolutions, *Jan.* 15, 1647.

‘ The lords and commons assembled in parliament,  
 ‘ after many addresses to his majesty for preventing and  
 ‘ ending this unnatural war, raised by him against his  
 ‘ parliament and kingdom, having lately sent four bills  
 ‘ to his majesty, which did contain only matter of safety  
 ‘ and

treaty with him. This they did with great fin-

‘ and security to the parliament and kingdom, referring  
 ‘ the composition of all other differences to a personal  
 ‘ treaty with his majesty; and having received an abso-  
 ‘ lute negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their ut-  
 ‘ termost endeavours speedily to settle the present govern-  
 ‘ ment, in such a way as may bring the greatest security  
 ‘ to this kingdom, in the enjoyment of the laws and li-  
 ‘ berties thereof; and in order thereunto, and that the  
 ‘ houses may receive no delays nor interruptions in so  
 ‘ great and necessary a work, they have taken these reso-  
 ‘ lutions, and passed these votes following, viz.

‘ Resolved upon the question,

‘ That the lords and commons do declare, that they  
 ‘ will make no further addresses, or applications to the  
 ‘ king.

‘ Resolved upon the question,

‘ That no application or address be made to the king  
 ‘ by any person whatsoever, without the leave of both  
 ‘ houses.

‘ Resolved upon the question,

‘ That the person or persons that shall make breach  
 ‘ of this order, shall incur the penalties of high treason.

‘ Resolved upon the question,

‘ That the lords and commons do declare, that they  
 ‘ will receive no more any message from the king; and  
 ‘ do enjoin, that no person whatsoever do presume to re-  
 ‘ ceive or bring any message from the king, to both or  
 ‘ either of the houses of parliament, or to any other  
 ‘ person (o).’

(o) King  
 Charles's  
 works, p.  
 596.

This was the fruit of *Charles's* stiff behaviour! He did  
 not consider times and circumstances, nor could he bring  
 himself into such a temper as was requisite to regain his  
 throne, and re-establish his affairs.—The house of com-  
 mons was so provoked at his majesty's refusal to sign the  
 four bills, that they printed a declaration, expressing  
 ‘ their reasons and grounds of passing the resolutions,  
 ‘ touching no farther address or application to the  
 ‘ king.”

In



sincerity, and were not without hopes of bringing it to a happy conclusion. For the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses, were voted to be a ground to pro-

In this *Charles's* behaviour from the beginning of his reign is brought to remembrance, his insincerity in his treaties exposed, and his dealings with regard to the parliament and *Ireland* laid open, with great acrimony of style (p). His majesty replied hereunto in a declaration, dated *Carisbrook-castle*, 18 Jan. 1647, and insisted still on it, that he could not in conscience, honor, or prudence pass the four bills (q); and thereby made the matter still worse in the eyes of his opponents, who paid but little regard to these his protestations. For they imagined that it was not conscience, honor, or prudence that prompted him to this and his former denials to yield to the terms proposed, but an inflexible stiffness, and the hopes of availing himself of their divisions. 'When treaties from the parliament, says *Milton*, sought out him, no less than seven times, (oft enough to testify the willingness of their obedience, and too oft for the majesty of a parliament to court their subjection) he, in the confidence of his own strength, or of our divisions, returned us nothing back but denials, or delays, to their most necessary demands; and being at lowest, kept up still and sustained his almost famished hopes with the hourly expectation of raising up himself the higher, by the greater heap which he sat promising himself of our sudden ruin through dissention.'—And again, says the same writer, 'The parliament—when he was their vanquished and their captive, his forces utterly broken and disbanded, yet offered him, three several times, no worse proposals or demands, than when he stood fair to be their conqueror. But that imprudent surmise, that his lowest ebb could not set him "below a fight," was a presumption that ruined him (r).'

(p) See parliamentary history, vol. xvii. p. 2--  
(q) King Charles's works, p. 597.

(r) Iconoclastes, 2d edit. p. 68,

proceed upon, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom (cccc).

But

(cccc) *The king's answers were voted to be a ground to proceed upon, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom.*] Charles, notwithstanding the votes of no more addressees, we have observed, was not without hopes of regaining his power. Nor were his hopes wholly without foundation: for the nation, weary of war, and fearing the great power of the army, was much disposed to bring things to an accommodation with him. Petitions from various parts were sent up for this purpose to the houses: the city of *London* was greatly desirous of it, as well as many of the most considerable men in parliament; and mobs and tumults arose every where, in order to bring it about. Nor was this all. The friends of *Charles* raised forces in different parts of the kingdom, and the *Scots* invaded *England*, in order to assist them in restoring him to his former condition. The parliament indeed liked not these proceedings, as tending to render their cares and toils of no effect. For if by force he was resettled on his throne, they well enough knew what was likely to befall themselves, and the nation in general. They ordered therefore the army to quell the tumults, to advance against the royalists, and repel the *Scots*; which was at length effectually done by men used to victory, and inspired with a belief of the justness of the cause they were engaged in. Mean while the parliament, to manifest to the world that they indeed desired peace upon terms that were just and safe, resolved, 'That a treaty should be had in the isle of *Wight*, with the king in person, by a committee appointed by both houses (s).' Accordingly commissioners were appointed; the votes for no more addressees were revoked, and the town of *Newport*, named by the king, was agreed to for the place of treaty. *Charles* now had once more an opportunity of regaining his honour, freedom, and safety. The opportunity he laid hold of, though he did not proceed with that openness, quickness, and dispatch which the critical situation of his affairs seemed to require.—The treaty began

(s) Parliamentary history, vol. xvii. p. 348.

But the hopes of peace were suddenly dissipated: for the army, having subdued those

began Sept. 18, 1648. His majesty consented in this treaty to the first proposition made by the parliament, for recalling and annulling all oaths, declarations, proclamations, and other proceedings against both or either houses of parliament, or against any for adhering to them; provided that neither this concession, nor any other of his upon this treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed.—This proposition was intended to, and actually did, justify all that had been done against the king from the very beginning of this war; and therefore it is stiled by lord *Clarendon* a ‘proposition of a horrid and monstrous nature, which tho’ his majesty consented to pass, yet he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to (t).’ But with re-

(t) Clarendon, vol. v. p. 213, 214.

gard to the article of religion—this his majesty stiffly debated with the commissioners for four days, and at length appeared no way convinced by their reasonings, or the reasonings of their divines. For his chaplains, with whom he consulted here, seem to have had their wonted influence over him, and threw him into much perplexity.

—His majesty (says Mr. *Oudart*, who attended on him at this treaty) this afternoon [*Oct.* 7] heard read several draughts of an answer upon the proposition for religion; disliked all; and was in a great perplexity about the point of abolishing episcopacy, even to shedding of

tears (u). Great pity it surely was to press the king to do what seemed to be really against his conscience!

(u) Peck’s *Defiderata curiosa*, vol. ii. lib. 10, p. 7. fol. Lond. 1735.

How far the apprehended necessity of the public welfare’s requiring it will justify those who did it, the casuists must determine. Though I cannot help remarking, that it seems among the unaccountables in human nature, that this prince, who had all along paid so little regard to the laws and liberties of his kingdom, or his own coronation-oath, in most interesting and important points, should have so great a fear of acting against law, christianity, and the same oath, with respect to the abolishing of bishops, and secularizing their revenues.—However, in

order

those who had taken up arms in his majesty's

order to make things easy, his majesty offered to consent that the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three years by act of parliament; that the directory for the public worship of God, and the presbyterian government, be established by law for the same time. Provided that his majesty, and those of his judgment, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same government, or form of worship, but have the free practice of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the assembly of divines at *Westminster* in the mean time (twenty of his majesty's nomination being added unto them), whereby it may be determined by his majesty and his two houses of parliament, how the said church-government and form of public worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. And concerning the bishops lands and revenues, his majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of his subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of money upon security and engagement of those lands; his majesty, for their satisfaction, will consent to an act or acts of parliament, whereby legal estates for lives or for years (at their choice), not exceeding ninety-nine years, shall be made of those lands, towards the satisfaction of the said purchasers, contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old rents, or some other moderate rent; whereby they may receive satisfaction. And in case such lease shall not satisfy, his majesty will propose and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction. Provided, that the propriety and inheritance of those lands may still remain and continue to the church and churchmen respectively, according to the pious intentions of the donors and founders thereof (w).

(w) King Charles's works, p. 603.

jeſty's behalf, preſented a remonſtrance to  
the

‘ His majeſty farther offered to conſent to acts for the  
‘ better obſervation of the Lord's-day, for ſuppreſſing  
‘ innovations in God's worſhip, and for advancing of  
‘ preaching.

‘ And to acts againſt pluralities and non-refidencies,  
‘ for regulating the univerſities and colleges, for the bet-  
‘ ter diſcovery and conviction of popiſh reſuſants, and  
‘ education of their children in the proteſtant religion;  
‘ for levying of penalties againſt papiſts and their practices  
‘ againſt the ſtate, and for putting the laws in execu-  
‘ tion, and for a ſtricter courſe to prevent hearing and  
‘ ſaying of maſs.

‘ As to the *covenant*, his majeſty was not then ſat-  
‘ ſified that he could ſign or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe  
‘ it on the conſciences of others, nor did he conceive it  
‘ proper or uſeful at that time to be inſiſted upon. As to  
‘ the militia, his majeſty conſented to an act to have it  
‘ in the hands of the parliament for ten years. Touch-  
‘ ing *Ireland*, after advice with his two houſes, the king  
‘ offered to leave it to their determination. Touching  
‘ public debts, he conſented to raiſe money by equal  
‘ taxes. Laſtly, he propoſed to have liberty to come  
‘ forthwith to *Weſtmiſter*, and be reſtored to a condi-  
‘ tion of freedom and ſafety, and to the poſſeſſion of his  
‘ lands and revenues; and that an act of oblivion and  
‘ indemnity might paſs, to extend to all perſons for all  
‘ matters relating to the late unhappy differences; which  
‘ being agreed to by his two houſes, his majeſty declared  
‘ himſelf ready to make theſe his conſeſſions binding,  
‘ by giving them the royal aſſent (x).’

‘ More than this, ſays *Whitlock*, could not be obtained  
‘ from his majeſty, though moſt earneſtly begged of him  
‘ by ſome of the commiſſioners (great perſons) with tears,  
‘ and on their knees, particularly as to the propoſition  
‘ touching religion. But the prelatical party about him,  
‘ for their particular intereſt, and power to perſecute  
‘ others, prevailed with him rather to hazard his crown  
‘ and life, than to diminiſh their greatneſs and power.

(x) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
603; and  
*Whitlock*,  
p. 340.

the house of commons, in which they demanded

‘ Wherein the church-government and publick worship, and chiefly the revenues of the church, swayed more with the king’s chaplains then about him, and they more with his majesty (continually whispering matter of conscience to him) than the parliament, with all their commissioners could prevail with him for an agreement, though possibly his own judgment (which was above all their’s) might not be so fully convinced by his eager divines about him (y).’ This answer of the king’s being voted unsatisfactory, his majesty afterwards offered to consent ‘ to a bill for taking away all archbishops, chancellours and commissaries, deans and subdeans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, and, in short, all the officers of the cathedral or collegiate churches; and also to agree with the two houses (time being to be allowed him and them to inform themselves of the practice of the primitive church in point of episcopacy) in limiting the bishops to the counsel and assistance of presbyters, and in the exercise of their jurisdiction, and increasing their number, if it be thought fit (z).’ This was the utmost *Charles* would allow in this matter, and long and learned were the debates, and many the desires of expedition expressed, before he could be brought to this. For his manner was here, as in former treaties, to try whether less would not be accepted, before he offered more, and thereby wasted time, which to him, in his circumstances, was most precious. However, these concessions with regard to the church being made; the militia granted to the parliament for twenty years; the cessation in *Ireland* declared void; all titles of honor, since the great seal was carried to *Oxford*, vacated; delinquents fined, prohibited the court and parliament, and left to the laws; all offices left to be filled up by both houses; their grants and commissions confirmed; the court of Wards abolished, with some matters of a less important nature, things began to hasten towards a settlement; and it was resolved by the commons, Dec. 5, 1648, and agreed to by

(y) Whitlock, p. 340.

(z) Parliamentary history, vol. xviii. p. 92.

manded that the king should be brought to justice,

by the lords, ' That the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses, are a ground for the house to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom (a). '—But before this vote passed, his majesty had been seized by the army (without the knowledge of the parliament, as we shall presently see), who thereby rendered of none effect all these proceedings. Unhappy was the stiffness and disputatious humour of this prince to himself and his friends! had he frankly made these concessions at first, they would probably have brought him to *London* in freedom, honor, and safety. But by disputing and writing, time was lengthened out, the *English* royalists beaten, the *Scottish* army routed, and the army masters of all.—Lord *Clarendon*, in his account of this treaty, speaks of the ' refractory, obstinate adherence of the commissioners to their own will, without any shadow of reason; of their letting loose their clergy upon the king, who all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, no more than to a bishop; ' and of their importunity and bitterness in beginning on their new instructions (b): ' things as little founded on truth, as that *Jenkins* and *Spurston* were the clergymen who disputed with his majesty; when, in fact, their names were *Marshall* and *Vines*, *Caryl* and *Seaman*; who, says *Mr. Oudart*, in the conclusion of their rejoinder to the king's reply about church-government, ' were very civil and full of rhetorick, and gave a great testimony of the learning couched in his majesty's paper, and highly applauded his majesty's piety as another *Constantine*; &c. (c) ' And the same gentleman assures us, his majesty: ' much thanked every one of the commissioners for their freedom, and even for their urging him against his opinion during the time of this treaty (d). ' (a) Parliam-  
entary history, vol.  
xviii. p. 446.  
(b) Clarendon, vol. v.  
p. 213, 216,  
223.  
(c) Peck's  
Defiderata  
curiosa, vol.  
ii, book 10,  
p. 11.  
(d) Id. p.  
16.

Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who was with the king also at this time, concurs with *Mn. Oudart* in his account of the respect with which he was treated.—' In these debates, ' says he, there were no heats on either side, but ma-

justice, and a period be set to the parliament. But not meeting with success herein, they seized the king's (DDDD) person, removed him to *Hurst-castle*, and afterwards brought him

‘ naged with great sobriety and moderation. And in all  
 ‘ this treaty his majesty was observed, in the whole trans-  
 ‘ action with the commissioners and divines, to keep a  
 ‘ constant decorum, with great prudence, cautiousness,  
 ‘ and good order. And albeit he was single, and obliged  
 ‘ to answer what the commissioners (who were many)  
 ‘ had in proposition or objection, his majesty’s answers  
 ‘ were pertinent, and delivered without any perturbation  
 ‘ or shew of discomposure. Albeit he had to do with  
 ‘ persons as of high civility and observance to the king,  
 ‘ so of great parts and understanding in the law and af-  
 ‘ fairs of state, and both for their ingenuity and fair car-  
 ‘ riage much commended by the king, as occasion after-  
 ‘ wards offered (e).’ His lordship pretends he drew up  
 his relation from the account given in a letter from the  
 king to his son: whether this is probable (as ’tis incon-  
 sistent with the best attested narratives of this affair) must  
 be determined by the reader.

(e) Sir T.  
 Herbert’s  
 memoirs,  
 p. 72, 8vo.  
 Lond. 1702.

(DDDD) *The army presented a remonstrance, seized the king’s person, &c.*] From the time that the king rejected the propositions made him by the army, they meditated his ruin. Whilst the treaty of *Newport* was in agitation, a large remonstrance came from the army, in which it was declared, that ‘ they conceived the parliament had abundant cause to lay aside any farther proceedings in that  
 ‘ treaty, and to return to their votes of non-addresses,  
 ‘ and to reject the king’s demands for himself and his  
 ‘ party, and that he may no more come to government  
 ‘ nor to *London*.

‘ That delinquents be no more bargained with, nor  
 ‘ partially dealt with; nor protected, nor pardonable by  
 ‘ any other power, only moderated upon submission;  
 ‘ and among these offenders they offer,



him to *London*, where a high court of justice being

‘ 1. That the king be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all.

‘ 2. That a day be set for the prince and duke of *York* to come in; and if they do not, then to be declared traitors; if they do come in, to be proceeded against, or remitted, as they give satisfaction.

‘ 3. That publick justice may be done upon some capital causers and actors in this war.

‘ 4. That the rest, upon submission, may have mercy for their lives.

‘ 5. That the soldiers may have their arrears, and publick debts be paid out of delinquents estates.

‘ 6. That a period be set to this parliament, and a provision for new and more equal representatives of the people, &c.’

In the conclusion they say, ‘ These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants, and trustees for the kingdom.’

‘ This remonstrance, says *Whitlock*, endured a long and high debate, some inveighing sharply against the insolency of it, others palliated and excused the matters in it, and some did not stick to justify it; most were silent because it came from the army, and feared the like to be done by them as had been done formerly: in fine, the debate was adjourned (f).’ The house, (f) *Whitlock*, p. 355. on reading this remonstrance, we may well suppose, was not a little confused. But the army followed briskly their blow: they seized the king’s person, and conveyed him to *Hurst-castle*. This still more alarmed the parliament, who declared that it was done without their advice or consent, and voted the king’s concessions a ground for settling the peace of the kingdom (g,) as I have before mentioned. (g) *Id.* p. 359. The army finding the parliament thus resolute for peace, resolved by force to frustrate their intentions. For this end, they placed colonel *Pride*, with a large party of horse and foot, upon all the avenues to the par-

being erected, he was tried, condemned, and  
exc-

liament-house; who, on the 6th of *December*, seized and imprisoned forty-seven members of the house of commons, and afterwards ninety-six more were secluded by the same authority (b).—What followed is well known:

(b) Parliamentary history, vol. xv. p. 471.

(i) Not more than fifty-three in number.

The votes of non-addresses were resumed; the king was brought to *Windfor*; an ordinance was passed by the remaining part of the commons (i), but rejected by the lords, for bringing him to his trial; a high court of justice was erected, before which he was tried (for levying war against the parliament, and the people therein represented), condemned, and, in virtue of its warrant, executed *Jan.* 30, 1648, O. S.

‘From these indisputable facts,’ as the authors of the parliamentary history observes, ‘it appears, that those great and able members who first engaged in behalf of the liberties of the people, against the encroachments of the prerogative, meant no more than to oblige the king to rule according to law; not to bring him to the scaffold: and that monarchy and the peerage were not destroyed, till the liberties of parliament had been first subverted by an army of their own raising (k).’

(k) Parliamentary history, vol. xviii. p. 556.

Whether I have attributed the king’s death to the proportion of persons, will be best known from the following citations.

1. Mr. *Ludlow* says, ‘Some of our commissioners, who had been with the king [at *Newport*], pleaded in the house for a concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; tho’ others, with more ingenuity, acknowledged that they would not advise an agreement upon those terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil, that was like to ensue upon the refusal of them. But sir *Henry Vane* so truly stated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and so evidently discovered the design and deceit of the king’s answer, that he made it clear to us [the army-party], that by it the justice of our cause was not asserted, nor our rights secured for the future; concluding, that if they should accept of these terms without the concurrence of the  
‘army,

executed, by an authority unknown to this nation,

army, it would prove but a feather in their caps: notwithstanding which, the corrupt party in the house having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, resolved to break through all hazards and inconveniencies to make good their contract; and after twenty-four hours debate, resolved, by the plurality of votes, That the king's concessions were ground for a future settlement. At which some of us expressing our dissatisfaction, desired that our protestation might be entered; but that being denied, as against the orders of the house, I contented myself to declare publicly, that being convinced that they had deserted the common cause and interest of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the rest of those who dissented also expressing themselves much to the same purpose. The day following some of the principal officers of the army came to *London*, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue; and consulting with some members of parliament, and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed upon themselves and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings; having engaged in the war not simply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conscience, being convinced that the cause in which they were engaged was just, and that the good of the people was involved in it. Being come to this resolution, three of the members of the house, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room, to consider of the best means to attain the ends of our said resolution, where we agreed that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in *Westminster-hall*, the court of Requests, and the Lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the house, but such as had continued faithful to the public interest. To this end, we went over the names

nation, and contrary to the sense of the people.

‘ of all the members one by one, giving the truest character we could of their inclinations, wherein, I presume, we were not mistaken in many.—General Ireton went to sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by seven of the clock. Col. *Pride* commanded the guard that attended at the parliament-doors, having a list of those members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the house, and securing some of the most suspected under a guard provided for that end; in which he was assisted by the lord *Grey of Grooby*, and others, who knew the members (1).’

(1) Ludlow,  
vol. i. p.  
268.

2. Lord *Fairfax*, general of the army, writes as follows: ‘ The treaty [of *Newport*] was scarce ended before the king was seized on, by the hands of the same persons that took him from *Holmby*: soon after followed his trial. To prepare way to this work, this agitating council did first intend to remove all out of the parliament who were like to oppose them; and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the members of the house can witness, with whom I was at that very time upon special business, when that attempt was made by colonel *Pride* upon the parliament; which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was because I always prevented those designs when I knew them. By this purging of the house (as they called it), the parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution, which always kept the kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour. This way being made by the sword, the trial of the king was easier for them to accomplish (m).’

(m) Fairfax's memoirs, p. 119, 120, 121.

people.---Amidst all the sufferings which  
Charles

3. Sir *Heneage Finch*, solicitor-general, at the tryal of the regicides, publickly acquitted the parliament, and consequently the people represented, from all blame in this matter. Hear his words: ‘Whatsoever, in the year 1648, could have been done by a parliament to save the life of a king, was done in this case. They opened a way to a treaty in spite of the army; and while these sons of *Zeruiab*, who were too hard for them, were engaged in service in the remoter parts, they hastened the treaty as much as was possible; the debates ripen, his majesty’s concessions were voted a good ground for peace: notwithstanding the remonstrances of the army still flew about their ears, and notwithstanding the oppositions of a fearful and unbelieving party of the house of commons, whom the army had frightened into an awful and slavish dependance upon them. And when nothing else could be done for him, they were so true to the obligations they lay under, that they resolved to fall with him; and did so. For the army, who saw the treaty proceed so fast, made as great haste to break it. They seize upon the blessed person of our sacred king by force, and bring him to London; and here they force the parliament, shut out some members, imprison others; and then call this wretched little company which was left, a parliament. By this, and before they had taken upon them the boldness to dissolve the house of peers, they pass a law, and erect, forsooth! an high court of justice, as they call it (n).’—Sir *Edward Turner*, on the same occasion, said, ‘My lords, this was not a national crime: and our good and gracious sovereign hath done us that honor and right to vindicate us in foreign nations; and now he is come home in power and glory, he does continue in the same mind (o).’

(n) Exact and impartial account of the tryal of regicides p. 37, 4to. Lond. 1660

(o) Id. p. 40.

The lord chief baron *Bridgman*, from the bench, declared it to be his opinion also, ‘that of 46 members which sat in the house of commons, there were but 25 or 26 men that did vote the act for the tryal of the king (p).’

(p) Id. p. 67.

*Charles* underwent, he seems to have preserved

(?) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
197.

4. *Charles* himself, on his tryal, said, ' he was far  
' from charging the two houses with the proceedings of  
' that day (q).' And,

5. In the preamble to the act for the attainder of several persons, guilty of the horrid murder of king *Charles* I. we have the following passages.—' In all humble manner shew unto your most excellent majesty, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the horrid and execrable murder of your majesty's royal father, our late most gracious sovereign *Charles* the First, of ever blessed and glorious memory, hath been committed by a party of wretched men, desperately wicked, and hardened in their impiety, who having first plotted and contrived the ruin and destruction of this excellent monarchy, and, with it, of the true reformed protestant religion, which hath been so long protected by it; and flourished under it, found it necessary, in order to the carrying on of their pernicious and traitorous designs, to throw down all the bulwarks and fences of law, and to subvert the very being and constitution of parliament, that so they might at last make their way open for any further attempts upon the sacred person of his majesty himself; and that, for the more easy effecting thereof, they did first seduce some part of the then army into a compliance; and then kept the rest in subjection to them, partly for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of losing their employments and arrears, until by these, and other more odious arts and devices, they had fully strengthened themselves both in power and faction; which being done, they did declare against all manner of treaties with the person of the king, even then while a treaty by advice of both houses of parliament was in being, remonstrate against the houses of parliament for such proceedings, seize upon his royal person, while the commissioners were returned to the house of parliament with his answer; and when his concessions had been voted a ground for peace, seize upon

served great equanimity; and before, at, and after his trial, his patience, or insensibility, was very remarkable (EEEE).

On

‘ upon the house of commons, seclude and imprison  
‘ some members, force out others, and there being left  
‘ but a small remnant of their own creatures (not a tenth  
‘ part of the whole), did seek to shelter themselves by  
‘ this weak pretence, under the name and authority of  
‘ a parliament; and, in that name, laboured to prosecute  
‘ what was yet behind and unfinished of their long intended treason and conspiracy. To this purpose they  
‘ prepared an ordinance for erecting a prodigious and unheard-of tribunal, which they called an high court of justice, for tryal of his majesty; and having easily procured it to pass in their house of commons, as it then stood moulded, ventured to send it up from thence to the peers then sitting, who totally rejected it; whereupon their rage and fury increasing, they presume to pass it alone, as an act of the commons, and in the name of the commons of *England*; and having gained the pretence of law, made by a power of their own making, pursue it with all possible force and cruelty; until at last, upon the 30th *Jan.* 1648, his sacred majesty was brought upon a scaffold, and there publickly murdered before the gates of his own royal palace (r).’  
Those gentlemen who talk of the execution of this prince as a national sin, would do well to consider these authorities.

(r) Stat.  
anno 12mo  
Car. II. c.  
xxxii.

(EEEE) *Amidst his sufferings he preserved great equanimity; and before, at, and after his trial, his patience or insensibility were very remarkable.* Sir Thomas Herbert, who constantly attended his majesty from the time that he was at *Holmby* to his execution at *Whitehall*, shall be my voucher for his equanimity and patience.

‘ His majesty, says sir Thomas, had information from private hands of the late proceedings in the house of commons—by which his majesty was apprehensive of their [the army-party’s] ill intentions towards his person

On the scaffold he is thought to have excelled himself, and to have died much greater

son and government, and did believe his enemies aimed at his deposing and confinement in the Tower, or some such like place; and that they would seat his son the prince of *Wales* in his throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his life by tryal in any court of justice, or in the face of his people, that he could not believe, there being no such precedent, or mention in any of our histories.—Such were his majesty's imaginations, until he came to his tryal in *Westminster-hall*; for then he altered his opinion. Nevertheless his faith overcoming his fear, he continued his accustomed prudence and patience, so as no outward perturbation could be discerned; with christian fortitude, submitting to the good pleasure of the Almighty; sometimes sighing, but never breaking out into a passion; or uttering a reproachful or revengeful word against any that were his adversaries, saying only, “God forgive their impiety (s).”

(s) *Memoirs*,  
p. 108.

And when his majesty was brought the second time before the court, in *Westminster-hall*, some soldiers made a hideous cry for justice, justice; some of the officers joining with them. At which uncouth noise the king seemed somewhat abashed, but overcame it with patience.—As his majesty returned from the Hall to *Cotton-house*, a soldier that was upon the guard said aloud, as the king passed by, “God bleis you, sir.” The king thanked him; but an uncivil officer struck him with his cane upon the head; which his majesty observing, said, the punishment exceeded the offence. Being come to his apartment in *Cotton-house*, he immediately, upon his knees, went to prayer. Afterwards he asked Mr. *Herbert*, if he heard that cry of the soldiers for justice? who answered, he did, and marvelled thereat. “So did not I (said the king); for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me.” The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, were there occasion (t).  
When

(t) *Id.* p.  
113.



greater than he had lived. His body, after his

When the president *Bradshaw* gave judgment against him, ‘ the king was observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supream judge (u). The king, at the rising of (u) *Memoirs*, the court, was with a guard of halberdiers returned to P. 117. *Whitehall*, in a close chair, through *King Street*, both sides whereof had a guard of foot-soldiers, who were silent as his majesty passed.—Nothing of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror, or provoked him to impatience; nor uttered he a reproachful word, reflecting upon any of his judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his domestick servants), or against any member of the house, or officer of the army: so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might have otherwise expressed his resentments upon several occasions. It was a true christian fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations (w).’ I will add but one passage more. ‘ The (w) Id. p. 118. night before his execution, the king continued reading and praying more than two hours. The king commanded Mr. *Herbert* to lie by his bedside upon a pallat, where he took small rest. But nevertheless the king for four hours, or thereabouts, slept soundly; and awaking about two hours afore day, he opened his curtain to call Mr. *Herbert*; there being a great cake of wax set in a silver bason, that then, as at all other times, burned all night; so that he perceived him somewhat disturbed in sleep: but calling him, bad him rise; “ for, said his majesty, I will get up, having a great work to do this day.” However, he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep. He replied, “ May it please your majesty, I was dreaming.” “ I would know your dream,” said the king; which being told, his majesty said it was remarkable. “ *Herbert*, this is my second marriage-day: I would be as trim to day as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed *Jesus*.” He then appointed what cloathes he would

his execution, was embalmed, laid in a coffin

‘ would wear: “ Let me have a shirt on more than  
 “ ordinary, said the king, by reason the season is so  
 “ sharp as probably may make me shake, which some  
 “ observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would  
 “ have no such imputation. I fear not death! Death is  
 “ not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared (x).”  
 Do not all these passages shew great patience? Do they  
 not manifest much equanimity?—I have said in the text,  
 that his patience or insensibility before, at and after his trial  
 were very remarkable. My reason for saying so, will be  
 found in the following passages, which I leave the reader  
 to remark on.

(x) Memoirs, p.  
127.

(y) Burnet,  
vol. i. p. 70.

*Burnet*, speaking of the trial of *Charles*, says, ‘ The  
 ‘ king’s party was without spirit: and, as many of them-  
 ‘ selves have said to me, they could never believe his  
 ‘ death was really intended, till it was too late. They  
 ‘ thought all was a pageantry to strike terror, and to  
 ‘ force the king to such concessions as they had a mind  
 ‘ to extort from him (y).’—‘ In a journal of *Robert earl*  
 ‘ of *Leicester*, in his own hand-writing, remaining at  
 ‘ *Penshurst-place* in *Kent*, it is related, that after the house  
 ‘ of lords had laid aside the ordinance for the trial of  
 ‘ the king, they adjourned their house for a week. The  
 ‘ same day from *Windsor* advice came there, that the  
 ‘ king seems to be as merry as usual, and saith that he  
 ‘ fears none. He makes the business talked on a jest;  
 ‘ and he saith that he hath yet three games to play; the  
 ‘ last of which gives him hopes of regaining all; and  
 ‘ accordingly, some do still serve the king on their knees.  
 ‘ *Sir John Temple*, in a letter of the 3d of *January*, writes,  
 ‘ They go on resolutely to bring the king to justice;  
 ‘ the ordinance is now passed; the commissioners named;  
 ‘ and though the lords refuse to join, yet without ques-  
 ‘ tion they will go on, and have made sure of twenty  
 ‘ persons, who are to be of the quorum, that will pro-  
 ‘ ceed to the trial, though all the rest give out. The  
 ‘ king takes yet no notice, that I can hear, of the pro-  
 ‘ ceedings; gave order, very lately, for saving the seeds  
 ‘ of

coffin of lead, and buried at *Windsor* with-  
out

of some *Spanish* melons, which he would have set at  
*Wimbleton*. He hath a strange conceit of my lord Or-  
mond's working for him in *Ireland*. He hangs still  
upon the trig, and by the enquiries he made after his  
and *Inchiquin's* conjunction, I see he will not be beaten  
off it (z).

(z) Collins's  
peerage of  
England,  
vol. v. p.  
180, 8vo.  
Lond. 1756.

But to go on to the last scene of this prince's life. On  
the 30th of *January*, in the morning, before his majesty  
was brought from *St. James's*, the bishop of *London*  
[*Juxon*] read divine service in his presence, in which  
the 27th of *St. Matthew* (the history of our Saviour's  
crucifixion) proved the second lesson. The king sup-  
posing it had been selected on purpose, thanked him  
afterwards for his seasonable choice. But the bishop  
modestly declining that undue thanks, told him, that  
it was the lesson appointed by the *Calender* for that day.  
He so then and there received of the bishop the holy  
sacrament, and performed all his devotions in prepa-  
ration to his passion. Which ended, about ten of the  
clock his majesty was brought from *St. James's* to  
*Whitehall* by a regiment of foot—the bishop on the one  
hand, and colonel *Thomlinson* (who had the charge of  
him) on the other, both bare-headed. His majesty  
walking very fast, and bidding them go faster, added,  
“That he now went before them to strive for an heaven-  
ly crown, with less sollicitude than he had often en-  
couraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem (a).”

(a) King  
Charles's  
works, p.  
207.

After this coming on the scaffold, he made a speech  
(which seems much broken and confused in many places),  
in which he asserted his own innocency; declared him-  
self to be a good Christian; shewed his auditors how  
they were out of the way, and proposed to put them in  
a way, which was to give God his due, the king his  
due (that is, says he, my successors), and the people  
their due: I am as much for them as any of you.—  
Afterwards he said, I desire their liberty and freedom  
as much as any whomsoever: but I must tell you, that  
their liberty and freedom consists in having of govern-  
ment,

out much funeral pomp. This prince left  
fix

‘ment, those laws by which their life and their goods  
‘may be most their own. It is not for having share in  
‘government, sir; that is nothing pertaining to them;  
‘a subject and a sovereign are clear different things.  
‘And therefore until they do that, I mean that you put  
‘the people in that liberty as I say, certainly they will  
‘never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now  
‘I am come here: if I would have given way to an ar-  
‘bitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to  
‘the power of the sword, I needed not to have come  
‘here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be  
‘not laid to your charge), that I am the martyr of the  
‘people (b).’—Then his majesty, at the bishop’s re-  
quest, made a declaration of his dying a Christian, ac-  
cording to the profession of the church of *England*; saying,  
he had a good cause, and a gracious God; then giving  
directions to the executioner, his head was, at one blow,  
severed from his body. ‘Thus, says sir *Rich. Warwick*,  
‘this saint and martyr rested from his labours, and fol-  
‘lows the Lamb (c).’

(b) King  
Charles’s  
works, p.  
211.

(c) Memoirs,  
p. 346.

The behaviour of *Charles*, in his sufferings, is greatly  
celebrated by *Burnet*.

‘The king himself, says he, shewed a calm and com-  
‘posed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so  
‘much the more, because it was not natural to him. It  
‘was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of super-  
‘natural assistance. Bishop *Juxon* did the duty of his  
‘function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could  
‘not raise the king’s thoughts: so that it was owing  
‘wholly to somewhat within himself, that he went thro’  
‘so many indignities with so much true greatness, with-  
‘out disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus he died  
‘greater than he had lived; and shewed that which has  
‘been often observed of the whole race of the *Stuarts*,  
‘that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity (d).’

(d) Burnet,  
vol. i. p. 70.  
See also  
*Whitlock*,  
p. 375.

All this seems very plausible: but as every thing has two  
handles, *Milton* ascribes his behaviour to no such extra-  
ordinary principles.—‘*Carolus si mortem*’ ait [speaking  
‘to

fix children: *Charles* and *James*, who successively mounted the throne of *Great Britain*; *Henry* duke of *Gloucester*, who died soon after the

to *Salmasius*] plane egisse vitæ respondentem assentior: si dicis piè & sanctè & secure vitam finiisse, scito aviam ejus *Mariam*, infamem feminam, pari in speciem pietate, sanctitate, constantiâ in pegmate, occubuisse: ne animi presentia, quæ in morte quibusvis è vulgo maleficus per magna, sæpe est, nimium tribuas: sæpe desperatio aut obfirmatus animus fortitudinis quandem speciem & quasi personam induit: sæpe stupor tranquillitatis: videri se bonos, intrepidos, innocentes, interdum & sanctos pessimi quique non minus in morte quam in vita cupiunt; inque ipsa scelera suorum capitali poenâ solent ultimam simulationis suæ & fraudum, quam possunt speciosissimè, pompam ducere; & veluti poëtæ aut histriones deterrimi, plausum in ipso exitu ambiciosissimè captare (e). i. e. 'If you say that *Charles* died as he lived, I agree with you: if you say that he died piously, holily, and at ease, you may remember that his grandmother *Mary*, an infamous woman, died on a scaffold with as much outward appearance of piety, sanctity, and constancy as he did. And lest you should ascribe too much to that presence of mind, which some common malefactors have, so great a measure of at their death, many times despair, and a hardened heart, put on, as it were, a vizard of courage; and stupidity, a shew of quiet and tranquillity of mind: sometimes the worst of men desire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not only in their life, but at their death; and in suffering death for their villanies, use to act the last part of their hypocrisy and cheats with all the show imaginable; and like bad poets, or stage-players, are very ambitious of being clapped at the end of the play.' The reader will please to remember, that I only here act the part of an historian, and am no ways answerable for the justness of what I cite on this occasion.

(e) Milton's  
prose works,  
vol. ii. p.  
353.

the Restoration; *Mary*, mother of *William III*, *Elizabeth*, who died soon after her father; and *Henrietta*, afterwards duchess of *Orleans*.---He stiled himself a Martyr, and has frequently had that title given him by his admirers, who have also sometimes paralleled him (FFFF) with *Jesus Christ*: others there are indeed who refuse to give him the title, or acknowledge the resemblance.

All

(FFFF) *He stiled himself a Martyr---and has been paralleled with Jesus Christ, &c.*] On the 29th of *January*, the day before his death, the princess *Elizabeth*, his daughter, was admitted to see him, to whom he said, among other things, 'That he wished her not to grieve and torment herself for him; for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of the land, and for maintaining the true protestant religion.' And again, he desired her not to grieve for him, for he should die a Martyr (f).---And in his speech on the scaffold, he told the spectators that 'he was the Martyr of the people,' as I have already related.

(f) King Charles's works, p. 206.

And as *Charles* esteemed himself, so was he esteemed by many others. For we are assured, 'that some took up his blood, after his execution, as the reliques of a martyr. And in some, continues my author, hath had the same effect, by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living (g).'

(g) Id. p. 210.

After the Restoration the memory of this prince was much revered, and a form of prayer, with fasting, was appointed by authority to be used yearly upon the 30th of *January*, being the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king *Charles* the First. This is still continued, as well as the style and tide he thus assumed to himself, in the anniversary sermons which the return of the day of course produces.

In the text I have observed, that *Charles* has sometimes been paralleled with *Jesus Christ*. Mr. Symons, his vindicator, was the first that, according to the best of my knowledge, attempted it. This gentleman, out of his zeal for the royal cause, even during his majesty's life, published, 'A true Parallel betwixt the Sufferings of our Saviour and our Sovereign in divers Particulars;' of which, as he himself relates it, 'it was affirmed, that out of his zeal to flatter the king, he had blasphemed *Christ* (b).—Dr. Binks, in a sermon preached the 30th of Jan. 1701, before the lower house of convocation, has the following passages.

(b) Preface to the Parallel, printed the second time with his Vindication of king Charles.

'And first, as to the near resemblance between the parties concerned, as well the actors as the sufferers, compassing those in the text with those of the day.

'And here one would imagine, that the latter were resolved to take *St. Paul's* expression in the most literal sense the words will bear, *and crucify to themselves the Lord afresh*, and, in the nearest likeness that could be, put him to an open shame. If, with respect to the dignity of the person, to have been born king of the *Jews*, was what ought to have screened our Saviour from violence, here is also one, not only born to a crown, but actually possessed of it. He was not only called king by some, and at the same time derided by others for being so called, but he was acknowledged by all to be a king: he was not just dressed up for an hour or two in purple robes, and saluted with an Hail king, but the usual ornaments of majesty were his customary apparel; his subjects owned him to be their king, and yet they brought him before a tribunal; they judged him, they condemned him; and that they might not be wanting in any thing to set him at naught, they spit upon him, and treated him with the utmost contempt. Our Saviour's declaring that his kingdom was not of this world, might look like a sort of renunciation of his temporal sovereignty, for the present, desisting only to reign in the hearts of men: but here was nothing of this in the case before us; here was an indisputable, unrenounced right of sovereignty, both by the laws of God and man: he was the reigning prince,

(i) Ter-  
buck's par-  
liamentary  
debates, vol.  
iii. p. 255.

‘ and the Lord’s anointed; and yet, in despite of all  
‘ law, both human and divine, he was by direct force  
‘ of arms, and the most daring methods of a flagrant  
‘ rebellion and violence, deprived at once of his imper-  
‘ rial crown and life. The fact of this day was such a  
‘ vying with the first arch-rebel, the apostate angel *Lu-*  
‘ *cifer*: it was such a going beyond the old serpent in his  
‘ own way of insolence and pride; that it is no wonder  
‘ that if he then began to raise his head, and set up for  
‘ dominion in this world, when thus warmed and en-  
‘ livened by a fiery zeal in some, and rage in others, to  
‘ the degree of drunkenness, thirsting after and satiating  
‘ themselves in royal blood; and in which respect only,  
‘ heated to the degree of frenzy and madness, the pla-  
‘ in my text may seem to have some hold of them: *Fe-*  
‘ *ther, forgive them, for they know not what they do* (i).—  
After this admirable parallel (which yet had the misfor-  
tune to be censured in the house of lords, as what gave  
just scandal and offence to all christian people), the reader  
will perhaps applaud the modesty of the poet in the fol-  
lowing lines, in which *Charles’s* sufferings are bewailed.

‘ Where then, just heav’n, was thy unactive hand,  
‘ Thy idle thunder, and thy ling’ring brand!  
‘ Thy adamantine shield, thy angel wings,  
‘ And the great genii of anointed kings!  
‘ Treason and fraud shall thus the stars regard!  
‘ And injur’d virtue meet this sad reward!  
‘ So sad, none like can Time’s old records tell,  
‘ Though *Pompey* bled, and poor *Darius* fell.  
‘ All names but one too low—that one too high:  
‘ All parallels are wrongs, or blasphemy. *Tickell.*

In this language speak the friends and admirers of this  
unfortunate monarch.—But all subscribe not to their  
opinion. A few citations from different writers will fully  
prove this.

‘ Martyrs, says *Milton*, bear witness to the truth, not  
‘ to themselves. If I bear witness of myself, saith *Christ*,  
‘ my witness is not true. He who writes himself Mar-  
‘ tyr by his own inscription, is like an ill painter, who, by



by writing on the shapeless picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell passengers what shape it is, which else no man could imagine: no more than how a martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dies for his religion because it is established! Certainly if *Agrippa* had turned Christian, as he was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Pharisees for observing the law of *Moses*, and refusing Christianity, they had died a truer martyrdom. For those laws were established by God, and *Moses*; these by no warrantable authors of religion, whose laws in all other best reformed churches are rejected. And if to die for an establishment of religion be martyrdom, then *Romish* priests executed for that, which had so many hundred years been established in this land, are no worse martyrs than he. Lastly, if to die for the testimony of his own conscience be enough to make him martyr, what heretic dying for direct blasphemy, as some have done constantly, may not boast a martyrdom? As for the constitution or repeal of civil laws, that power lying only in the parliament, which he by the very law of his coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preserve a lesser law with the contempt and violation of a greater; it will conclude him not so much as, in a civil and metaphorical sense, to have died a martyr of our laws, but a plain transgressor of them (k).

Mr. *Watson* concurs with *Milton* in his opinion that *Charles* was no martyr. Hear his words.

I cannot, says he, in conscience, read those prayers wherein the king is called a martyr. I believe the assertion to be false, and therefore why should I tell a lye before the God of Truth! But let us examine this point. What is a martyr? He is a witness; for so the word in the original imports. But of what? for every witness, in the christian sense of the term, is not a martyr. *Robert Stephens* tells us, that they are martyrs who have died giving a testimony of divinity to *Christ*. But if this be true, king *Charles* can be no martyr; for he was put to death by those who believed in the divinity of *Christ* as well as he. In *Scapula* we read, that with Christians they are peculiarly called

(k) Iconoclastes, p. 86, 2d edit

‘ martyrs who have confirmed the doctrine of *Christ*,  
 ‘ not only with words, but with their blood. But what  
 ‘ right has king *Charles* to be numbered among those?  
 ‘ Is it then true, that he laid down his life in vindication  
 ‘ of the New Testament? Strange that he could con-  
 ‘ trive to do this in a country, where the authenticity  
 ‘ thereof was not disputed. This not only is incredible,  
 ‘ but the whole current of history is against it. What  
 ‘ were the grounds then, for giving him this glorious  
 ‘ title? His dying rather than give up episcopacy, is said  
 ‘ to be the cause of it. But ’tis a question whether he  
 ‘ did this. I think lord *Clarendon* has proved the con-

(l) *Watson’s*  
 apology, P.  
 14.

trary (l).—The reader may easily determine this point,  
 if he thinks it worth determining, by turning to *Charles’s*  
 concessions with regard to the episcopal hierarchy, in the  
 note (cccc). Had the treaty of *Newport* taken effect,  
 those who since have canonized him, would have been  
 among the first to load his memory with reproaches.—  
 But to go on with *Mr. Watson*. ‘ My charity,’ says he  
 in another place, ‘ leads me so far, that I hope king  
 ‘ *Charles* meant well, when he told the princess *Elizabeth*,  
 ‘ that he should die a martyr, and when he re-  
 ‘ peated it afterwards on the scaffold: but this might be  
 ‘ nothing else but a pleasing deception of the mind; and  
 ‘ if saying that he died a martyr, made him such, then  
 ‘ the duke of *Monmouth* also was the same; for he died  
 ‘ with the same words in his mouth, which his grand-  
 ‘ father king *Charles* had used before him. King *Charles*  
 ‘ II. seems to have no such opinion of the matter; for  
 ‘ when a certain lord reminded his majesty of his swear-  
 ‘ ing in common discourse, the king replied, “ You  
 ‘ martyr swore more than ever I did;” which many  
 ‘ have deemed a jest upon the title which his father had  
 ‘ got (m).’

(m) *Id. p.*  
 24.

I will add one authority more against the title of Mar-  
 tyr, which is so often given to *Charles*: but ’tis an autho-  
 rity revered by many, and will be esteemed remarkable  
 by most. It is that of the person who claims to be the  
 grandson of this monarch, and heir to his kingdoms.  
 We are indebted for this anecdote, as well as for many  
 others equally curious, to the late lord *Bolingbroke*, who  
 had

All princes in limited monarchies ought to take warning by his fate (GGGG), against break-

had the honor to be his minister. Speaking concerning the amendments made in the draught of a declaration, and other papers, which were to be dispersed in Great Britain by the Pretender, he has the following passage. "Since his father [James II.] passes already for a saint, and since reports are encouraged of miracles which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass for a martyr: but he struck out of the draught these words, "that blessed martyr who died for his people," which were applied to king Charles the First; and would say nothing more of him, than that "he fell a sacrifice to rebellion (n)." The friends of this house, no (n) Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, P. 285.

I will conclude this note with observing, that Milton and Mr. Watson seem to have taken needless pains in proving that Charles was not a martyr for his religion: we have seen he claimed only to be a "martyr of the people."

(GGGG) All princes in limited monarchies ought to take warning by his fate.] "The king of England is the guardian of the liberties and rights, religious and civil, of his people. This is his true character, and the only foundation of his power: and it was rightly and judiciously observed by a great minister of a neighbour nation, "That a king of England, who will be the man of his people (that is, will be a true guardian of their rights and liberties) is a great prince; but if he will be more, he is nothing."

"In this situation, he hath all the power that a good man should take, or a wise man wish; a power to do justice, to defend right, and to repress wrong; that is, in one word, a power to make his people happy. Should a guardian angel wish for more? and should

breaking the laws, and misusing the prerogative.

(o) Delany's  
sermons on  
social duties,  
p. 304, 8vo.  
1744. See  
also Sir Wil-  
liam Tem-  
ple's works,  
fol. Lond.  
1733, p.  
383, 384.

'frail and fallen man be trusted or tempted with  
'more (o)?' But *Charles* was not content to be the  
man of his people: he would be their master; he tyrannized over the consciences, took the liberty to enslave the bodies, and empty the purses of his subjects, without law, and contrary to law. In a word, he attempted to make freemen vassals, subjects slaves.

This, as we have seen, laid his parliament under a necessity of consulting their own and the nation's safety, of raising an army, of defending themselves against the king and his evil counsellors. Their army was victorious, and, like many other armies, after subduing their enemies, turned against their masters; and, contrary to their intentions, brought his majesty to the block. This in them was illegal. In them 'twas murder: for they had no right or authority, except that of the sword. But had *Charles* confined himself within the bounds of law, and exerted his prerogative only for the good of the people, all this would have been prevented. Submission would have been paid to his commands, the civil war would never have commenced, nor would he himself have fallen a sacrifice to the ambition, enthusiasm, or safety of the soldiery. So that *Charles* was properly the original cause of all his own misfortunes: and his death may be considered as 'a monument of terror, set up to the princes of a free people to guard them against the least approaches or attempts to tyranny: to teach them that no personal merit, no excellence of nature, no acquired accomplishments, no combination of virtues, can give quiet to their reign, or stability to their throne, independent of the affections of their people (p).'

(p) Delany's  
sermons, p.  
310.

The following passage of Mr. *Locke* is worthy the attention of princes, as well as of the advocates of *Charles*, who alledge the example and practice of his predecessors as an extenuation, if not as a justification of his illegal rule.—'He that will look, says that great man, into the history of *England*, will find that prerogative was always largest in the hands of our wisest and best princes; because

' because the people, observing the whole tendency of  
 ' their actions to be the publick good, contested not  
 ' what was done without law to that end; or if any hu-  
 ' man frailty or mistake (for princes are but men, made  
 ' as others) appeared in some small declinations from  
 ' that end, yet 'twas visible the main of their conduct  
 ' tended to nothing but the care of the publick. The  
 ' people therefore, finding reason to be satisfied with these  
 ' princes, whenever they acted without or contrary to  
 ' the letter of the law, acquiesced in what they did,  
 ' and, without the least complaint, let them enlarge their  
 ' prerogative as they pleased; judging rightly, that they  
 ' did nothing herein to the prejudice of their laws, since  
 ' they acted conformable to the foundation and end of  
 ' all laws, the publick good. Such god-like princes,  
 ' indeed, had some title to arbitrary power, by that argu-  
 ' ment that would prove absolute monarchy the best go-  
 ' vernment, as that which God himself governs the uni-  
 ' verse by; because such kings partake of his wisdom  
 ' and goodness. Upon this is founded that saying, that  
 ' the reigns of good princes have been always most dan-  
 ' gerous to the liberties of their people. For when  
 ' their successors, managing the government with dif-  
 ' ferent thoughts, would draw the actions of those good  
 ' rulers into precedent, and make them the standard of  
 ' their prerogative, as if what had been done only for  
 ' the good of the people, was a right in them to do for  
 ' the harm of the people, if they so pleased; it has often  
 ' occasioned contest, and sometimes publick disorders,  
 ' before the people could recover their original right, and  
 ' get that to be declared not to be prerogative, which  
 ' truly was never so: since it is impossible that any body  
 ' in the society should ever have a right to do the people  
 ' harm; tho' it be very possible, and reasonable, that the  
 ' people should not go about to set any bounds to the  
 ' prerogative of those kings or rulers, who themselves  
 ' transgressed not the bounds of the publick good. For  
 ' the prerogative is nothing but the power of doing pub-  
 ' lick good, without a rule (q). The prince who will (q) Locke  
 bear this maxim in mind, and regulate his conduct by on govern-  
 ment, p.  
 it, 254.

it, needs not fear the fate of *Charles*. His subjects will feel the blessings of his government, and chearfully submit to his wholesome rule. Whereas he who imitates this unfortunate prince, whose life and actions have now been opened, will probably, like him, feel woes innumerable.

## APPEN-



# A P P E N D I X.

SINCE these papers were in the press, there has been published a long-expected work, intitled, “Memoirs and Letters of the Marquis of *Clanricarde* and Earl of *St. Alban’s* (a).” It begins in (a) Folio, October 1641, and continues down to the 30th of *August*, Lond. 1757. 1643; after which nothing occurs till the proceedings in the treaty between the duke of *Lorraine’s* ambassador and his lordship. These commence *Feb. 27, 1650*, and end in *August 1652*.

I have taken the trouble few readers will to read it through, though I am far from repenting it: for the marquis was a man of sense and honor, and zealous for the service of his master, *Charles*; who appears not either advantageously or disadvantageously in this volume, unless it be in the affair of the cessation with the *Iris*, which he ordered *Ormonde* to carry on with the greatest secrecy. ‘There is a power come to *Ormonde*’ (says Mr. Justice *Donallen*; in a letter to *Clanricarde*, received *May 11, 1643*) ‘to conclude a cessation for a year here. ‘The king would have it carried with secrecy: I and ‘one more only are made acquainted with it (b).’ And (b) P. 399. in another letter, received at the same time, the same gentleman tells his lordship, ‘There is a second letter ‘come to *Ormonde* from the king, to hasten the cessation I spoke of.’—One passage more, concerning *Charles*, there is in a letter from the marquis of *Ormonde* to the earl of *Clanricarde*, dated *Feb. 4, 1642*. ‘The ‘king is very strong, says *Ormonde*, and increases daily: ‘the only fear is, he may meet with such counsellors as ‘will sacrifice his affairs to their own ends and safety (c).’

(c) P. 339.

The

The following accounts of the *Irish* rebellion, as his lordship was a confirmed catholic, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the curious.—‘ Upon the 27th of November 1641, I went from *Tuam* to *Sbreull*, a fair strong castle of my own in the county of *Mayo*, but divided from the county by the river, upon the which is a fair stone-bridge, made since most infamous by the horrid and bloody murder of about one hundred *English* and *Scots*, most of them massacred by their own convoys, before they could attain into this county over the bridge. Out of this inhuman massacre very strangely escaped *Maxwell*, lord bishop of *Killala*, and his wife and children (d).

(d) P. 21.

‘ *Jan.* I repaired to *Loughbreab*. There I received constant intelligence of the general defection of the whole kingdom, and of the particular malice against me for my opposition against their proceedings; the disorders, spoils, and robberies increasing in the county itself, and underhand receiving countenance and encouragement from those whom I had entrusted for preserving the peace, quiet, and obedience of the country (e).’

(e) P. 65.

And in a letter to lord *Essex*, dated *May* 22, 1642, he says, ‘ The barbarous murders that have been committed there [in *Ireland*], are not to be thought of but

(f) P. 149. with horror (f).’

After this, no one, I presume, will pretend to doubt of the reality and barbarity of the *Irish* rebellion.

F I N I S.



## E R R A T A.

Page 71, l. 9, in the Notes, dele *I will add a passage or say more on this head.*

P. 203, l. 5, in the Notes, for *say they*, read *says he*.

P. 211, l. 22, in the Notes, after *famous* add *et cetera*.

P. 244, l. 4, from the bottom, in the Notes, for *Rollis*, read *Rolles*.

P. 250, l. 16, in the Notes, for *Rollis*, read *Rolles*.

P. 264, l. 2, in the Text, for *urged*, read *argued*.

*Lately published,*

(By the same AUTHOR)

AN

HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

A C C O U N T

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

JAMES the FIRST,

King of GREAT BRITAIN.

After the Manner of Mr. BAYLE.

Drawn from Original Writers and State-Papers.



The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The document then outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions, including the use of standardized forms and the requirement for double-checking entries. It also addresses the importance of regular audits to ensure the integrity of the records. The second part of the document focuses on the financial management of the organization. It details the budgeting process, including the identification of revenue sources and the allocation of funds to various departments. The document also discusses the importance of monitoring expenses and ensuring that they remain within the allocated budget. Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key points and a call to action for all staff members to adhere to the established procedures and maintain the highest standards of financial management.





